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1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1861. It is a copy of the original letter, and is signed by Abraham Lincoln.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000	1001	1002	1003	1004	1005	1006	1007	1008	1009	1010	1011	1012	1013	1014	1015	1016	1017	1018	1019	1020	1021	1022	1023	1024	1025	1026	1027	1028	1029	1030	1031	1032	1033	1034	1035	1036	1037	1038	1039	1040	1041	1042	1043	1044	1045	1046	1047	1048	1049	1050	1051	1052	1053	1054	1055	1056	1057	1058	1059	1060	1061	1062	1063	1064	1065	1066	1067	1068	1069	1070	1071	1072	1073	1074	1075	1076	1077	1078	1079	1080	1081	1082	1083	1084	1085	1086	1087	1088	1089	1090	1091	1092	1093	1094	1095	1096	1097	1098	1099	1100	1101	1102	1103	1104	1105	1106	1107	1108	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1114	1115	1116	1117	1118	1119	1120	1121	1122	1123	1124	1125	1126	1127	1128	1129	1130	1131	1132	1133	1134	1135	1136	1137	1138	1139	1140	1141	1142	1143	1144	1145	1146	1147	1148	1149	1150	1151	1152	1153	1154	1155	1156	1157	1158	1159	1160	1161	1162	1163	1164	1165	1166	1167	1168	1169	1170	1171	1172	1173	1174	1175	1176	1177	1178	1179	1180	1181	1182	1183	1184	1185	1186	1187	1188	1189	1190	1191	1192	1193	1194	1195	1196	1197	1198	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204	1205	1206	1207	1208	1209	1210	1211	1212	1213	1214	1215	1216	1217	1218	1219	1220	1221	12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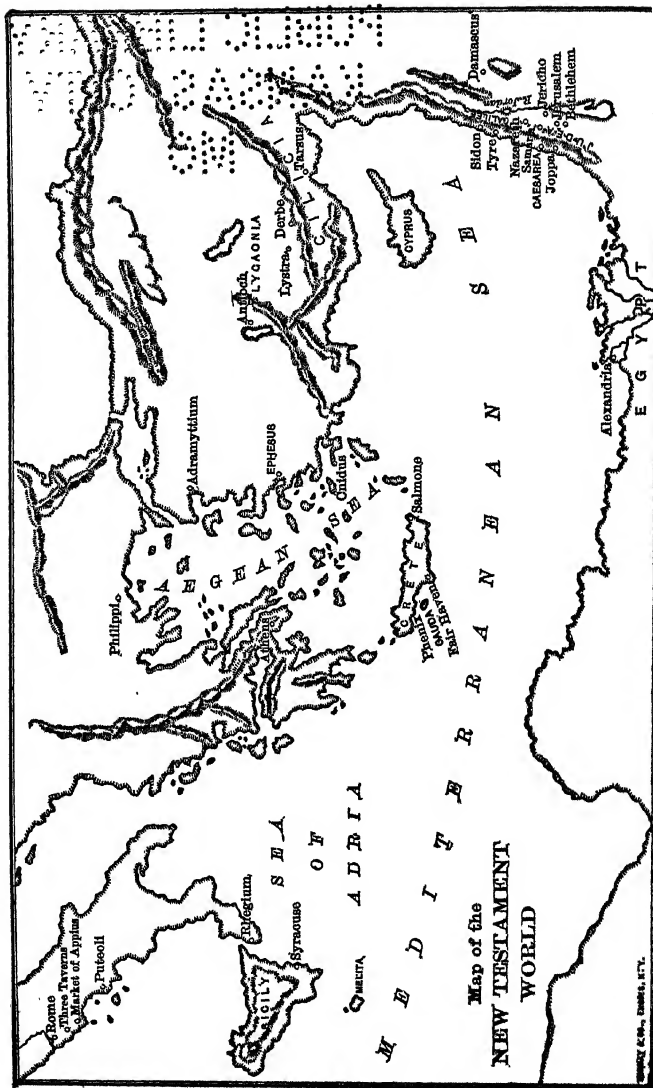
E. HERSHEY SNEATH, Ph.D., LL.D., YALE UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE
OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

By HENRY THATCHER FOWLER

A HISTORY OF THE LITERATURE OF AN-
CIENT ISRAEL

GREAT LEADERS OF HEBREW HISTORY



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OF THE
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BY
HENRY THATCHER FOWLER, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND HISTORY
IN BROWN UNIVERSITY

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TO THE MEMORY OF
TIMOTHY DWIGHT, D.D., LL.D.

AND

GEORGE BARKER STEVENS, PH.D., D.D.

WITH GRATEFUL APPRECIATION OF THEIR
INSTRUCTION IN THE PRINCIPLES OF
NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION

EDITOR'S PROSPECTUS

One of the notable developments of modern scholarship is an increasing interest in the scientific study of religion. It is safe to say that never before has religion been made the subject of such careful and extended investigation as during the last two decades. History, anthropology, psychology, archæology, comparative religion, and sociology have been drawn upon to aid in the determination and interpretation of the facts of religious experience;—each of them making a substantial contribution toward this important end. Indeed, during this period a new science, the psychology of religion, has come into being, and already a comparatively large literature on this subject has been developed. Philosophy, also, has felt the impulse of this interest, and, in the more speculative fields of religious scholarship, a philosophy of religion is rapidly supplanting dogmatic theology in the effort to furnish an ultimate interpretation of the phenomena of religious consciousness. Furthermore, application of the historical method to the study of Old and New Testament Literature has contributed toward a much better understanding of the Bible, and to a more intelligent appreciation, and a higher valuation, of the Christian religion.

Further interest in religion is manifest in the widespread movement in behalf of systematic religious education. Biology, genetic and child psychology, the psychology of adolescence, and experimental pedagogy, are rendering valuable aid in the organization and application of curricula in this important field. Thus far elementary and

Editor's Prospectus

secondary religious education has received more attention than religious education in the college. The time seems ripe for more adequate education in this field in colleges and universities. For this purpose a special literature in the history, psychology and philosophy of religion, and in Old and New Testament Interpretation is necessary. The "Religious Science and Literature Series" is specially designed to meet this need. Each book of the Series is written by a well-known specialist, and is prepared with reference to class-room work. The Series includes the following volumes:

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(Ready)

Josiah H. Penniman, Ph.D., LL.D.,

Provost of the University of Pennsylvania

E. HERSHEY SNEATH.

Yale University.

PREFACE

It is the aim of the present volume to give an historical account of the rise of the Christian Church in Palestine and of its spread from Jerusalem to Rome, with especial emphasis upon the way in which the New Testament writings grew out of the history.

If, in any measure, the book succeeds in giving a true picture of present knowledge of the matter with which it deals, its reading and study will afford a deeper sense of: (1) the firm historical bases of our knowledge of the character and teaching of Jesus and (2) the vital connection between the New Testament books and the actual experiences of the first-century followers of the Christ.

It is the frequent testimony of college and university students who are engaged in the historical study of Biblical literature that such investigations give a new vitality alike to the Old and the New Testament. When they see how the Bible grew out of real life, they feel its validity for life today. When they apprehend the way in which the message of Jesus met the needs of different temperaments, environments, and racial heritages, they readily comprehend the more significant aspects of Biblical truth; they also realize the relative unimportance of many of the personal and doctrinal differences over which sincere Christians have contended from the beginning even to the present moment.

The many and startling analogies between the life of the Roman Empire, into which Christianity first came, and that of the Western world of the twentieth century give

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peculiar poignancy, in our time, to a study of Christian origins which emphasize the close connection between the Classical world and that of the New Testament.

Since the present book has grown slowly out of experience in class room and seminar, it is hoped that it may prove serviceable as a text-book in college and university instruction. At the same time, as the chapters have taken their final form, the interests of the general reader have been borne in mind. In a period when the Mediterranean tour is what the Egyptian tour was for wealthy Romans of two thousand years ago, the present narrative may help some prospective tourists to realize, as they sail into the Bay of Naples or catch their first glimpse of the Acropolis, that they are viewing Bible lands, as well as when they hurry from Haifa or Jaffa to Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

Whether the work is used for text book study or general reading, it is the earnest hope of the writer that the chapters may be read in close connection with the Biblical books of which they treat. They will attain their full purpose only as they lead to connected reading and even analytic study of the Bible text itself.

In the dedication, the writer has tried to express his deep indebtedness to two great interpreters of the New Testament who introduced him to the patient labors and fruits of the older, grammatical exegesis. That his interpretations of various Biblical passages, cited in the following pages, are worthy of such teachers, he does not suppose; but he has continually rejoiced, while writing, that his earlier instruction did not omit some training in minute exegesis, while it emphasized the broader aspects of the historical interpretation of the Bible.

Hardly less are the obligations he would acknowledge to that succession of advanced students who have, through a series of years, patiently worked in his Seminar, inves-

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tigating aspects of the Synoptic Problem, the Johannine Literature, and similar subjects, and, too, to those groups of undergraduates who, in the winter and spring of 1924, listened so sympathetically to many of the following chapters, read as lectures from rough, first draft manuscript. Their intelligent interest has given him hope that the printed work may prove of service to future college classes and other readers.

HENRY THATCHER FOWLER.

Bluehill, Maine,
July 18, 1925.

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THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE
OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

CHAPTER I

PALESTINE FROM THE MACCABEAN UPRISING TO THE DEATH OF HEROD—168 to 4 B.C.

The period intervening between the writing of the latest books included in the Old Testament and the ministry of Jesus was one marked by many and rapid political changes for the Jewish people, accompanied by seething cross-currents of thought and hope. Another volume in the present series has given an illuminating picture of various phases of the Jewish religion as they developed in this era.¹ It remains for the present volume to offer some chronological account of the general history of the period, as a background against which the history of the rise of the Christian Church and the composition of the New Testament may be viewed.

The latest writings of the Old Testament, such as Daniel, Esther, and certain Psalms, are to be dated in the earlier years of the Maccabean era which extended from 168 to 63 B.C. This stirring century of Jewish history was inaugurated by the bold act of a priest living in the little town of Modein, about sixteen miles to the northwest of Jerusalem.

¹ E. I. Bosworth, *The Life and Teaching of Jesus*, chh. iii, iv.

For more than four centuries the Jewish land had been successively subject to the rule of Babylonians, Persians, and Macedonians. In the struggle between the Egyptian and Syrian lines of Macedonian rulers who divided Alexander's Eastern conquests, Palestine in 198 B.C. had been finally taken from the Ptolemies of Egypt by Antiochus III of Syria, commonly known as Antiochus the Great, whose capital was the magnificent city of Antioch on the Orontes. His younger son and second successor, Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, coming to the throne about 175 B.C., undertook to unify the civilization of his kingdom by force.

Many of the Jews had already been so strongly attracted by Greek customs and life that complaint was made that the young priests deserted the sacrifices of the Temple for contests of the stadium.² A Greek gymnasium had been established within the sacred city, Greek dress was affected by many, Jewish names were abandoned for foreign ones, and some were even ready to participate in the Greek religious festivals.

There were others, however, who stood rigidly for maintaining the Jewish rites and practices so firmly established by the reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra, two and a half centuries before. These came to be known as the Hasidim or Holy Ones.

Antiochus, not satisfied with the progress that Hellenism was making among his Jewish subjects, instituted a devastating persecution of all who continued to practice the distinctive rites of Judaism and refused to participate in the worship of the Greek gods. He set up an altar of Zeus on the great altar of Jehovah in the Temple court—the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet—and caused the sacred spot to be defiled by the sacrificing of swine's flesh. Terrible cruelties were inflicted upon the Hasidim for their loyalty to their ancestral faith.

² II Maccabees iii. 12-15.

It was in the course of these events that the priest of Modein, the aged Mattathias, refused to offer pagan sacrifice upon an altar in his native community and struck down, first his townsman who came forward to perform the rite, and then the royal emissary who was enforcing the test of this Greek sacrifice. With his five grown sons, Mattathias fled to the mountains and began the rebellion which resulted, after a quarter of a century of intense struggle and skillful diplomacy, in recognition of the independence of Palestine on the part of rival claimants for the Syrian throne.

The Book of Daniel, written within the first three years of the contest for independence, is a notable monument of the intensity of the struggle and the hopes which it inspired. The story of Esther, too, while its scene is laid back in the time of Persian rule, before the coming of Alexander and his Macedonians, reflects the intense nationalism that was gendered by the quarter of a century of fighting for independence, inaugurated by Mattathias.³

Mattathias was of the Hasmonean family, and his descendants, who became hereditary monarchs, are often styled the Hasmoneans (or Asmoneans). They are perhaps more commonly known as the Maccabees, from the surname Maccabeus (the Hammer?), given to Mattathias's warrior-son Judas, who soon became the leader of the struggle against Syria.

During the rule of the grandson of Mattathias, John Hyrcanus, there appear distinctly in the history the two great parties or sects which play so prominent a part in New Testament narrative, the Pharisees and Sadducees. Of these the Pharisees (Separatists) are quite clearly the

³ It is possible that Esther may have been written at an earlier date, but at any rate it first came into popularity in Palestine at this time. See J. A. Bewer, *Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. 303, 307.

inheritors of the tradition of the Hasidim, many of whom had suffered martyrdom under the persecution of Antiochus IV. Men of this faith might well feel that their principles of rigid adherence to the laws and customs of their ancestors had saved the religion of Jehovah from obliteration, sixty years before. As we look back upon the history, we see that even in the early years of the struggle for liberty their mechanical adherence to the letter and form of the law once and again gravely endangered the national cause. Now, in the latter part of the reign of John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.), they came into open conflict with the Hasmonean house, on the ground, in part, that a Hasmonean was not legally entitled to the high-priesthood.

John turned, in consequence, to the support of the Sadducees, who to some extent represented the inheritance of the spirit that had marked the Jews who were willing to adjust themselves to Greek customs. The conflict between the Hasmonean house and the Pharisees became a life and death struggle in the next generation when John's son, Alexander Jannæus, was at the head of the Jewish state, a conflict which resulted in much slaughter and terrible weakening of the life of the nation which now included the old territories of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

In the irresistible eastward progress of Roman power, Palestine was presumably doomed to fall eventually within the limits of the Republic and Empire, but the internecine struggles that marked the later generations of Maccabees seem to have hastened this event. After the death of Alexander Jannæus in 78 B.C., his wife Alexandra, under the influence of her Pharisee uncle, Simon ben Shetach, reversed the practice of her husband and favored in all ways the Pharisees. Her elder son, Hyrcanus, was made high priest, but her ambitious younger son, Aristobulus, sought Sadducean support and, after his mother's death in 69 B.C., succeeded in deposing his elder brother

from the rule of the nation. Hyrcanus, who seems himself to have been of a quiet, inoffensive temperament, was instigated to seek restoration of his rightful position by an Idumean, Antipater, who brought to his aid the king of the Nabatæans from northwestern Arabia.

Idumea is the Greek form of the familiar Old Testament name Edom, anciently applied to the land and people immediately south of the Dead Sea. Owing to the devastation and partial depopulation of Judah's territory at the time of the Babylonian Exile (586-538 B.C.), the Edomites had moved up and taken possession of southern Judæa, including David's early capital Hebron. In the expansion of Jewish power under John Hyrcanus, they had been conquered and incorporated within Judaism. John, in fact, had given them their choice of initiation into Judaism or expulsion from the land. It seems he had made the father of Antipater native governor of his Edomite subjects, and now the son proved a wily and ambitious intriguer in Jewish state affairs, instigating civil war for the nominal purpose of restoring the elder son of Alexander Jannæus and Alexandra to his place as king and priest of the Jews.

Pompey had been brought into Syria by the situation of affairs in the ever-troubled land of Armenia, and to Pompey both factions of the Jews appealed with the result that, in the year 63 B.C., the brief period of Jewish independence was brought to an end. Aristobulus was carried to Rome to grace Pompey's triumph and his brother Hyrcanus was left as high priest and nominal head of the Jewish State, now greatly reduced in territorial extent and made directly responsible to Pompey's Syrian representative, Scaurus. While Hyrcanus was thus nominal head of Judæa, the shrewd Antipater was the real local power.

The entrance of this Idumean into Jewish political history is of especial interest since it was his son Herod who, in the year 40 B.C., was appointed king of Palestine by the

Roman Senate. Thus, through internal conflict and the forcible incorporation of the kindred, but ever antagonistic Idumeans, the fall of the independent Jewish State was hastened, and a hated Idumean came eventually to be king of the Jews as a *rex socius* of Rome.

During the middle and later years of the Hasmonean rule, two Jewish histories of the struggle for independence were composed. These are known to us as I and II Maccabees and have been handed down in that group of books which Protestants call the Old Testament Apocrypha (Hidden).⁴ A careful comparison of these two books covering in part the same ground, affords a most instructive study of two different types of the religious interpretation of history. The writer of II Maccabees has gathered every tale of miraculous intervention through apparitions and prodigies which has grown out of the stirring years of heroic struggle. While he has given vivid pictures of the unconquerable spirit of the Hasidean martyrs who accepted torture and death in preference to renunciation, he has left but little place for the active courage and skill of those who heroically gave themselves to the war of independence. The writer of I Maccabees, on the other hand, while showing plainly the religious faith and devotion of the early Maccabean leaders and their followers, gives a clear and

‘The Old Testament Apocrypha consists of those writings which the Jews of Alexandria included in their Greek version of the Scriptures, the Septuagint (LXX), but which were not included by the Palestinian rabbis in their canon. Some of the books of the Apocrypha were originally written in Greek; others were translated from the Hebrew. Since the early Church used the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, these additional books were recognized as canonical. The Protestant Reformers separated them from the books included in the Hebrew Bible, printing them at the close of the Old Testament. During the past century it has become customary among Protestant publishers to omit them altogether from printed editions of the Bible. In Roman Catholic Bibles they are included among the books of the Old Testament.

vivid picture of the working of strategy, sacrifice, and courage, taking advantage of the favorable terrain, through which the Jews won their striking victories. It would be difficult to find a more instructive study than a comparison of these two books, to prepare for a calm weighing of the miraculous which is constantly met in ancient records, particularly in those of religious biography and history. First Maccabees is hardly second to the books of Samuel themselves as a sober and inspiring religious interpretation of a significant era of Jewish history.

Other important writings that have come down to us from the Maccabean era are the book of Judith in the Apocrypha, and, outside of that collection, the book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

The dramatic possibilities of the story of Judith have been realized by various modern writers who have used its narrative and characters for their artistic purposes. As a product of the Maccabean age, it is of importance to the historian as an expression of the intense nationalism and rigid ritualism of the time.

In the Book of Enoch we have important relics of the literature of the Maccabean age, for the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, as it is called from the language of the translation in which it has been preserved, is clearly a composite of elements from different decades extending from a time shortly before the Hasmonean uprising to the latter part of the period of independence. Chapters lxxxiii to xc were, like Daniel, written in the earliest years of the struggle, while the basic elements of xci to civ and xxxvii to lxx are assignable to the years after the attainment of independence. Like Daniel, Enoch belongs to the late Jewish type of literature known as Apocalypse (Revelation, literally, uncovering) which in the post-exilic period of Jewish history, gradually superseded the earlier, ethical prophecy.

In the collection of apocalyptic visions ascribed to Enoch, the seventh from Adam, men of Pharisaic faith expressed their hatred of the enemies of their nation or their Sadducean opponents within the nation, and expressed also their hopes for the speedy coming of a great day of Divine judgment, when the righteous should triumph and the wicked receive their just deserts. In this group of writings, the Messianic hope was expressed in various forms and terms that are significant for the interpretation of Jesus' words and also for an understanding of the apocalyptic element in the New Testament.

The Book of Jubilees is believed to have been written by a Pharisee in the reign of John Hyrcanus, before the breach of the party with the ruler who was accorded the title of Priest of God Most High. The writer looked forward to the coming of a Messianic king of the line of David, but accepted the high-priesthood of the Hasmoncan prince. The book retells the story of Genesis with many a traditional amplification, treating the history as organized according to the ideal jubilee periods prescribed in the Levitical law. It affords a notable example of that intense emphasis upon the law to which the persecution of Antiochus had given new vitality.

In striking contrast to the spirit of Jubilees, is the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, written in the same period. In this series of instructions, given in the literary form of farewell addresses from the patriarchs, are embodied some of the noblest utterances of pre-Christian Judaism, with which it seems that both Jesus and Paul must have been familiar. Here may be found the conjoining of the duty of love to God and man, less forcibly than in the speech of Jesus, but yet in clear fashion,⁵ and the interpretation of forgiveness as eventuating in the restoration of fellowship, so characteristic of the spirit of Jesus and so

⁵ Dan v. 3; Issachar vii. 6.

foreign to the general tenor of Old Testament thought.⁶ Here may be found also the prototype of Paul's thought of that spirit which taketh not account of evil (or puts not down to one's account).⁷ It has been suggested that this wonderful book must have been a sort of *vade mecum* of the Apostle Paul so often do his words seem to echo its instructions.

In parts of Enoch and in the Testaments, we have from the latter half of the Maccabean era many important connecting links between the Old and the New Testaments, showing how it was that in the midst of a Judaism largely dominated by priestly ritual and barren, legal scribalism there were those who were ready to acknowledge and follow one whose life and teaching were so foreign to the official ideals of the Judaism of his day as were those of Jesus of Nazareth.

The century of Jewish history which we have rapidly sketched is full of significance to the student of the history and literature of the New Testament. It saw the rise of the parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees whose representatives appear so prominently in the Gospel narratives. It brought into the Jewish history that Idumean family of which four generations appear on the pages of the New Testament, in the persons of Herod, his sons Archelaus and Herod Antipas, his grandson Agrippa, and his great-grandson Agrippa II, before whom Paul reasoned at Cæsarea.

The century opened with the fierce struggle of Judaism to save itself from being absorbed into the Hellenistic civilization of Antioch, the complete dominance of which would have meant the extinction of the religion of Jehovah. The life of Greece and Judæa had met at close quarters through Alexander's conquest and colonization. Much in the Greek civilization had appealed to many of the Jewish

⁶ Gad vi. 3-7.

⁷ Zebulun viii. 5; I Cor. xiii. 5.

people; but when it became a question of adopting Greek religion and abandoning the worship of the God not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, the Jewish spirit asserted itself against Hellenism and, not unnaturally, reacted to extreme exclusiveness. The Sadducees, who under the Romans were the party of the priests and hereditary aristocracy, represented an attitude of greater freedom toward foreign intercourse and customs than the Pharisees.

Opening with the successful struggle against assimilation by Greek culture the century closed with subjection to Roman political authority. Rome usually respected the religious independence of the Jews and most of their national customs, but was destined ultimately to destroy all semblance of their political identity. The years before the beginning of Roman rule in Palestine are hardly to be counted within the field of New Testament history, yet some knowledge of their general course and developments is essential for the historical interpretation of the New Testament.

With the beginning of Roman dominance in Palestine, Jewish history is caught up into the sweep of Western life much more fully than by Alexander's conquest, two hundred and seventy years before. That earlier impact of Europe on the Middle East had meant the imposition of Macedonian rulers and the implanting of Greek cities, but, with Alexander, the center of power had moved into the East and, after his death, the eastern portions of his dominions were ruled from their own capitals, Alexandria and Antioch, as independent kingdoms. Roman sway, with all its respect for local customs and political units, meant the distinct transference of the center of political gravity from the Near and Middle East to the West. Hellas at Marathon and Salamis insured Europe against Asiatic political dominance; Alexander carried European arms and culture to the East, but did not transfer the center of Oriental gov-

ernment to the West; Rome brought subjection to the East, but opened the West to the conquest of Eastern civilization. The aphorism that Rome conquered Greece and then Greece conquered Rome could be adapted with almost equal truth to the regions further east than Greece. The battle of Actium determined that the seat of political power should not soon return to the Middle East, not indeed until the era of Mohammedan conquests, but the unity of the Mediterranean world under Rome, which was assured when Cleopatra and Antony withdrew from Actium, made possible the conquest of Rome by a religion which took its rise in the Middle East.

A glance at almost any series of maps designed to illustrate Biblical history will make clearer the significance to the New Testament of the years 63 and 31 B.C. than pages of discussion. An adequate map to illustrate Old Testament history must extend fifteen hundred miles to the eastward of the Mediterranean and Palestine and almost as far to the south. It must show Persia and Babylonia, Sheba at the southern tip of Arabia, and Ethiopia or Cush beyond the first cataract of the Nile. To the west it need do hardly more than indicate the general outline of Greece, marking the region as Javan to indicate the home of a distant people who have barely come within the ken of some of the later prophets.⁸ On the other hand, a map designed to illustrate New Testament history does not need to extend fifty miles east of Palestine, while to the westward it must give in detail Greece and Italy and may show Spain as the region to which Paul planned to carry his missionary activities.

The cultural unity of all the twenty-three hundred miles from the east-Jordan districts to the Pillars of Hercules

⁸ Some Old Testament maps may include Spain to show the supposed location of Tarshish, but such identification is more than doubtful.

may be suggested by the fact that the founder of the Greek Anthology was Meleager of Gadara, east of the Jordan; and the tutor of the Emperor who reigned during the ministry of Jesus came from this same city of the Decapolis, less than twenty-five miles from Nazareth; while a number of the leading writers of Rome during the New Testament era were of Spanish birth. Back of any intelligent reading of New Testament history and literature there must lie the picture of the Græco-Roman world surrounding the Mediterranean, centering in its political and military capital at Rome and unified by the Greek language and culture from the Middle East to the remote West. With the submission of Jerusalem to Pompey in the year 63 B.C., the Jewish State was fully caught in the resistless political movements of the age.

For the first six years following Pompey's settlement of Judæan affairs, the little state, now sadly diminished in territory, remained quiet under its new political condition, which was not unsatisfactory to the Pharisees; they had asked Pompey to take away the kingly power of the Maccabæes and leave them under the theocratic rule of their high priest. In the year 57 B.C. this peace was broken by the appearance in Palestine of Aristobulus's son Alexander who sought to re-establish the rule of his father's line, terminated by Pompey. The result of Alexander's unsuccessful attempt was a certain reorganization of the Judæan government by Gabinius, then the Roman representative in Syria. Hyrcanus was allowed to retain the high-priesthood, but was deprived of any political powers which he had held. The next year found Aristobulus himself, escaped from Rome and back in Palestine, seeking to rouse rebellion. In these and other disturbances in the East, Antipater rendered valuable aid to Roman authority, gaining new power for himself, while retaining Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood.

In the period of the First Triumvirate, Judæa experienced a new aspect of Roman rule, when the unscrupulous Crassus plundered the Temple treasure that Pompey had left inviolate. The period of Civil Wars, beginning with Cæsar's crossing of the Rubicon in 49, was one that called for all of Antipater's skill and address to meet the rapidly changing conditions of the time. At first he remained loyal to his patron Pompey, while Aristobulus and his sons were naturally adherents of Pompey's rival. Pompey's friends were able to dispose of Aristobulus by poisoning and to capture and behead his son Alexander. With the defeat and death of Pompey, in the year 48, Antipater immediately gave his support to Cæsar.

The little collection of Jewish hymns, known as the Psalms of Solomon or the Psalms of the Pharisees, reveals something of the Pharisaic hostility to the later Hasmonæans, of their bitter hatred of Pompey as the impious one who had dared to enter the Holy of Holies in the Temple, and of the revival at this time of the hope of a Messianic deliverer of the line of David. This hope was in sharp contrast to that expressed under the rule and priesthood of John Hyrcanus, when the thought was given expression that one of the line of Levi might prove to be the Messianic deliverer.

When Antipater espoused the cause of Cæsar, he was soon able to render important military aid in enabling Mithridates to cross the Sinaitic desert and enter Egypt, to the relief of Cæsar's forces at Alexandria, and also by timely participation in decisive battle in Egypt itself. Against the petition of Aristobulus's son Antigonus, Cæsar confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood and made Antipater a Roman citizen and Procurator of Judæa, adding many privileges, including the right to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, certain exemption from military duties, reduction of tribute during the sabbatical year, and guar-

antee of religious liberty. Antipater was now in a position to name his elder son as Governor of Jerusalem and to put his younger son Herod in control of Galilee. The summary measures of the young Herod, however, in putting down a band of robbers and killing their leader, brought him into conflict with the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem, and led to his temporary withdrawal to Syria, with military service there under the Roman Governor, Sextus Cæsar.

The assassination of Julius Cæsar in March 44 B.C. wrought a sad change in the affairs of Palestine. Cassius who came to the East, levied heavy tribute. Antipater and his sons were zealous in collecting this, and won the favor of Cassius. The next year witnessed the death of Antipater by poisoning; he was a man whose remarkable abilities had saved Judæa from many of the sufferings of the trying years, and whose guiding hand was still much needed. Matters were in great confusion in Palestine, as throughout the Roman world, in the interval between Cæsar's death and the decisive battle of Philippi in the year 42. Cassius had withdrawn from Syria, and the Roman representatives there were unable to cope with the situation. In Judæa, Malichus, leader of the conspiracy against Antipater, was opposed to Phasaelus and was apparently supported by Hyrcanus. Malichus, Phasaelus and Herod, and Aristobulus's surviving son Antigonus, were all striving for dominance.

After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, Herod succeeded in winning the favor of Antony, who appointed him and his brother tetrarchs, while Hyrcanus was retained in the high-priesthood in which the father of the young tetrarchs had so long maintained him. Repeated opposition on the part of the Jews to their Idumean governors was severely repressed by Antony.

In the year 40 B.C. the confirmation of these alien rulers and Antony's heavy taxes made many Judæans ready to

accept Antigonus, who appeared in Palestine supported by those inveterate enemies of the Romans, the Parthians. Phasaclus met his death as a prisoner of the Parthians; the aged high priest Hyrcanus was carried captive to Babylon, mutilated by the cutting off of his ears so that he could not again serve in his priestly office; Antigonus was established as king in Jerusalem; and Herod fled to Alexandria and thence to Rome, seeking to overtake his patron Antony. Arriving at the world's capital after terrible vicissitudes, Herod asked for the appointment of Hyrcanus's young grandson Aristobulus to the rule of Judæa. Instead, Octavian and Antony secured from the Senate Herod's own appointment as King (40 B.C.).

Without delay the new king returned to the East to engage in a war for his throne. After three years of struggle, prolonged by the hostility of the Roman representatives in Syria, who, although they had driven out the Parthians, proved open to the bribes of Antigonus against Herod, the new king was at last master of the land which he was to rule for the next thirty-three years (37-4 B.C.). The Roman general delivered Antigonus to Antony, who had him beheaded, and thus terminated the line of Aristobulus, which had been contesting the high-priesthood and the rule of the land with Hyrcanus and Antipater and his sons for more than thirty years. In the meantime Herod had married Mariamne who, as daughter of Alexander, elder son of Aristobulus, and of Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus, united both contending lines in her own person. It was the young brother of this Mariamne for whom Herod had asked the nominal kingship in Rome.

Herod's treatment of this royal youth is one of the blackest pages in a ruthless history; he had Aristobulus appointed high priest, and then, becoming jealous of his popularity with the people, had him killed by being held under water in pretext of sport while he was bathing in the

pool at Jericho. The incident was typical of many events that were to make Herod's reign a strange mingling of splendor and horror. On the one hand he was able to keep the peace and protect the Arabian frontier in a manner that commended him to his Roman masters; he engaged in great building enterprises that marked him a patron of architecture and the beauties and joys of Græco-Roman civilization, while at the same time he generally respected the usages of Jewish law. On the other hand, he at times, apparently wantonly, violated the religious feelings of his subjects, and above all marked his course by the execution of the dearest members of his family, because of jealousy and fear. No imagination of dramatist can conceive more absolute tragedy than the true story of Herod and his court.

Politically the king remained loyal to Antony as long as there was any hope for that infatuated one. Even after the withdrawal from Actium, Herod was ready to support Antony's cause if he would abandon Cleopatra. Failing in this plea, Herod gave his allegiance to Octavian and sought the first opportunity to serve his new master. Before he left the city to meet Octavian, he deemed it prudent to dispose of the aged Hyrcanus and had him killed on a trumped-up charge.

Soon after he had been received with fullest favor by Octavian, Herod's suspicious jealousy and the machinations of his sister Salome and of Mariamne's mother united to bring the darkest tragedy into the king's life. Convinced by circumstantial evidence that Mariamne had been faithless, he had her tried and executed. Herod does not seem ever to have been the same man after this event. Drowning memory in dissipation that brought on illness, his reason, for a time at least, was unbalanced. Alexandra, mother of Mariamne, a woman whose father and two children Herod had caused to be slain, was caught plotting against him in

his illness and was put to death. Even distant members of the Hasmonæan house were discovered and slain until the line was wiped out, and Herod had no fear of a claimant to the throne who could awaken the old loyalty to the Maccabæan line, except the sons of Mariamne and himself.

In his relations with the people, the king aroused the ire of the Pharisees by re-establishing Greek games and theatrical performances in Jerusalem and, most offensive of all to the mechanical adherents of the law, by putting some suits of armor about the theater; they regarded these as forbidden images. As troubles clouded about the monarch, he guarded his person and power in Jerusalem by rebuilding the tower of Antonia that commanded the Temple enclosure and by making his own palace on the western hill a secure fortification. He also built numerous strongholds in other parts of the land. A system of spies, with frequent arrests and executions, served further to convince the people of their powerlessness in the hands of the tyrant. Yet when famine and pestilence visited the land in the year 25 B.C., he freely sacrificed his own treasures and used his every power to secure relief for his subjects. At Cæsarea, his principal residence, he erected a notable port and city. The ancient capital of Israel, Samaria, on its beautiful crown-shaped hill, he rebuilt into a magnificent city of Græco-Roman buildings and colonnades, the ruins of which are still impressive. In these and other cities which he built about the land, he did not hesitate to honor the gods of Greece and Rome, although he showed respect to the God of the Jews in Jerusalem. Foreign cities, too, he adorned with buildings erected from the tribute of his little kingdom. Only through the greatest possible development of the trade and all economic resources of his kingdom was it possible for him to meet such expenses. Emulating his lord Augustus, he made his lesser court a cen-

ter of artists and men of letters. It is largely due to one of the latter group, Nicholas of Damascus, diplomatist, courtier, and writer, that we have such adequate knowledge of the history of Herod's life and reign.

In the fifteenth year of his rule, Herod summoned an assembly of the people and proposed to them to rebuild their Temple, which had now stood for five hundred years, having been erected soon after the Babylonian Exile. The proposal was received with distrust and fear, but at length he carried his plans into execution and erected a Temple and enclosures that far surpassed in magnificence not only its immediate predecessor, but the storied Temple of Solomon itself that had been destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar nearly six centuries before. The work was so conducted that the daily sacrifices were not interrupted, and Herod punctiliously observed the restrictions which prohibited foreigners from entering the inner courts, while priests especially trained for the undertaking laid the stones and erected the woodwork.

All the king's activities and successes could not, however, bring him peace of mind and freedom from carking care. The rivalries and plottings of the children of his different wives darkened the latter days of his reign and finally cost him much of the confidence of Augustus, to whom the distracted father appealed for permission to execute his own sons. On the one side were Herod's brother and sister and eldest son, born of his first wife Doris; on the other were the two sons of Mariamne, who had been educated at Rome and against whom the others plotted, making it appear that they were disloyal to their father and seeking to have him called to account for their mother's death. Ultimately, in 7 B.C., the plotters were successful, and Mariamne's two sons were executed. Several hundred accused of sympathy with the young princes were stoned to death.

It may have been in this same bloody year, or perhaps it was one or two years later, that in Bethlehem, six miles south of Jerusalem, Mary brought forth her first-born son, and laid him in a manger. The Gospel of Matthew records a slaughter of the little children of Bethlehem because of Herod's jealous fear of a rival for the throne; this is in accord with our other knowledge of the King's attitude and conduct during these awful closing years of his reign.⁹

It was not long after the execution of the sons of Mariamne that the plotting of the elder son against the life of Herod's brother and of Herod himself was discovered, and he was put to death a few days before his father died. Seventy years of age, ill, and distraught with grief, Herod, it is said, arranged to have the chief men of the land imprisoned and massacred at his death, that there might be genuine mourning. The final order was not executed, however, and there was little real grief when the once mighty king died in the spring of 4 B.C.

Strangely enough, no Palestinian, Jewish literature has been preserved which can with any certainty be assigned to the years of Herod's long rule. Even the writings of the court historian Nicholas of Damascus are known only

* The exact date of Jesus' birth seems impossible to determine. The more commonly accepted date is the year 6 or 5 B.C., one or two years before Herod's death. The conclusion of Ramsay, based upon a detailed argument for a Roman enrolment every fourteen years, would give the year 8 B.C., (or possibly 7) for the enrolment named in Luke iii. 1. Although it is difficult to harmonize either of these dates with Luke's statements that John the Baptist began his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius and that Jesus was about thirty years old at the beginning of his own ministry, the argument of Ramsay has much to commend it. (See Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* and *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the Gospels*.) Some would even put the date of the birth later than the death of Herod (See e.g. Wade, *New Testament History*, pp. 342-3), a view which does not commend itself to the present writer.

through the fact that the later Jewish historian Josephus used them for his own account of the times. The Alexandrian Jewish writing known as the Wisdom of Solomon was probably composed during the reign of Herod, or not many years earlier. In it we have a noble forerunner of some of the New Testament writings. Its influence upon the thought and expression of Paul can hardly be doubted, and echoes are perhaps to be found in Hebrews and Revelation.

As we come to understand how much of the New Testament grew out of the need of interpreting to the Gentile world Christ and his religion, deep-rooted in the Jewish faith, we begin to realize how important a part the Jewish thinkers of Alexandria played in the manifold preparation of the Mediterranean world for the spread of Christianity. In large measure, they, through their fusion of Greek philosophy and Hebrew religion, developed the universal conceptions and thought-forms which afforded a vehicle for expressing to the world the meaning of Jesus.

It is to be deeply regretted that the Wisdom of Solomon is so little known among most readers of the English Bible, now that it, along with the other books of the Apocrypha, is no longer printed in Protestant editions of the Bible. Especially in the thought of the soul and its immortality may we find in this writing an important link in the chain of progress from the more naïve Hebrew conceptions to the full Christian doctrine. Here too we note the emphasis upon "love" that is "the keeping of the laws of wisdom," a wisdom that teaches "temperance, prudence, and righteousness;" we find also faith in the possibility of man's being near to God, friends with him, in sharpest contrast to the rabbinical thought of the remote and dread Lawgiver. Yet there is no irreverent thought of familiar approach to the "throne of his glory" whence he sends his "holy spirit from on high."

CHAPTER II

PALESTINE FROM THE END OF HEROD'S REIGN TO THE DEATH OF AGRIPPA I—4 B.C. TO 44 A.D.

With the death of Herod in the spring of the year 4 B.C., the greater part of the territory over which he had ruled was divided among three of his surviving sons, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip. The first received the title of *ethnarch* (ruler of a province or people), the other two that of *tetrarch* (originally, ruler of the fourth part of a country; in general, a subordinate prince or governor). To the elder, Archelaus, fell the southern portion, made up of Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa. To his brother Antipas were assigned Galilee and the east Jordan territory known as Peræa. The districts east of Galilee and north of Peræa, beyond the Sea of Galilee and the upper Jordan, fell to Philip, half-brother of Archelaus and Antipas. The territory of Archelaus extended southward from the southern edge of the Plain of Esdrælon for perhaps a hundred miles to the desert south of Palestine and from the Jordan westward forty or fifty miles to the Mediterranean, except for certain coast-plain cities which were not left to Archelaus.

While the *Ethnarch* thus received the largest and most important division of his father's kingdom, it quickly proved the most difficult part to govern. Herod had willed this territory to Archelaus with the title of king, but the will of a *rex socius* was subject to the approval of the Emperor, and, even before Augustus's decision could be obtained, the Pharisees were demanding in no uncertain

terms that Archelaus should take extreme measures in reversal of action that had been taken by his father. At the Passover season, when crowds were assembled in Jerusalem, revolt was threatened, so that Archelaus called upon the troops, who killed several thousand of the people. After this dangerous pacification, he departed for Rome, leaving his brother Philip as his representative in Palestine. Disorder continuing, the Roman Governor of Syria, Varus, came down from Antioch, subdued an uprising in Jerusalem, and left Sabinus as Procurator with a legion of soldiers to maintain order. Sabinus proving a plunderer, excited a still more desperate revolt that called Varus back and resulted in heavy slaughter of the people, two thousand of whom suffered crucifixion.

In the meantime, Antipas, a deputation of prominent Jews, and finally Philip also had followed Archelaus to Rome where they presented their several claims before Augustus. The Jewish deputation, supported by members of the large colony of their fellow countrymen in Rome, sought to terminate the Herodian rule by securing the incorporation of Palestine into the province of Syria. Augustus listened to their pleas, but in the end, practically confirmed Herod's will.

Of definite events in the ten years' rule of Archelaus, little is recorded beyond certain building enterprises, particularly in the Jordan Valley, where he rebuilt the Jericho palace destroyed during his absence in Rome, developed palm groves, and built a town named Archelais after himself. Josephus characterized him as cruel and tyrannical, and perhaps this was the view of the author of Matthew,¹ at any rate he states that when Joseph learned that Archelaus was ruling in Judæa, he dared not return thither and so, following the guidance of a dream, was led to make his home in Galilee. At the end of ten troubled years, in

¹ ii. 22.

6 A.D., the complaints of the people were so grave that Augustus summoned Archelaus to Rome and determined to banish him to Gaul.

If Jesus was born as early as 6 B.C., his visit to Jerusalem at the age of twelve² must have occurred at about the close of Archelaus's rule there.

Antipas contended at Rome for the territory assigned to his brother, which had been destined for him by an earlier will of his father, but had to content himself with the tetrarchy allotted by the later will, which yielded only one third the revenue of the domain of Archelaus. As events turned out, his province proved a more certain possession than that of his brother, and he managed to maintain himself there for forty-three years, until 39 A.D.

Not only were the boyhood and youth of Jesus spent in the tetrarchy of Antipas, but the greater part of the public ministry recorded in the Synoptic Gospels (Mark, Matthew, and Luke) occurred there also. Antipas is the Herod regularly referred to in the Gospels, except in the infancy narratives.³ He is sometimes styled, in these books, Herod the Tetrarch, and once King Herod; but usually simply Herod. Of the two divisions of his territory, *Peræa*, extending from the Jordan eastward to the desert and from the Yarmuk on the north to the Arnon on the south, was a little larger than Galilee. Together the two districts contained a territory of about two thirds the area of the State of Connecticut or rather less than one half that of Wales.

The population of Galilee had a much larger Gentile element than that of Judæa, although the Jews may have outnumbered Gentiles in the district at the time of Antipas. They were, however, comparatively recent settlers there, for, in the bitterness of the Maccabean struggles, it had been found necessary to remove the Galilean Jews to Jeru-

² Lk. ii. 42.

³ Mt. ii; Lk. i.

saalem for safety; it was only under the later Maccabean rulers and the Romans that they were able to settle once more in the northern districts of Palestine. Removed from the chief center of Pharisaic scribal influence, though loyal to the law, the Jews of Galilee seem to have been more sympathetic with the eager Messianic hopes of the apocalypticists than the Jerusalem rabbis, who were absorbed in the minutiae of legal discussions.

It was in the freer atmosphere of Galilee in which, perhaps, something of the pioneer spirit of colonists still prevailed, and where, certainly, the Jew was in more equal contact with Gentile neighbors, that Jesus chose to proclaim the Kingdom at hand, and to exercise his gracious ministry in its towns, on its hillsides, or along the busy shores of its beautiful lake.

In just what year of Antipas's rule, John the Baptist was arrested and Jesus felt the time ripe for the beginning of his Galilean ministry is, like the exact date of his birth, a question which cannot be determined with certainty. Luke dates the beginning of John's ministry in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, which suggests 29 A.D.; but he does not indicate how long after that it was that Jesus' Galilean ministry began. Perhaps he means us to understand that John's public ministry was so brief that Jesus commenced to teach in the same year. Even if that is the case, it is difficult to harmonize the representation that Jesus' public ministry began about 29 A.D. with Luke's further statement that he was then about thirty years old, and his apparent understanding that Jesus was born before the death of Herod the Great, a fact which Matthew clearly states. If we put all of these data together, we are forced either to understand "about thirty years of age" very loosely, or to adopt the suggestion that Luke reckoned the years of Tiberius's reign from the time when Augustus granted him co-authority over the legions and provinces, some three

years before his own death. That would carry the beginning of John's ministry back to the year 26 and would leave us free to infer that the Galilean ministry of Jesus began in 26 or 27 A.D. In any case, it was, as Luke indicates, after Pilate's procuratorship had begun in Judæa (26 A.D.) that John came into all the region round about the Jordan preaching the baptism of repentance and that, still later, Jesus returned into Galilee and taught in the synagogues.

How long the Galilean ministry continued is not clearly indicated by our sources. It may have been a little less than one year or it may have been nearly two years before Jesus finally left the northern provinces and entered upon his briefer ministry in Peræa that preceded the final Passover season in Jerusalem. Many scholars feel that the common outline of the ministry given in the first three Gospels indicates only a little more than one year for the entire period of Jesus' public activity, that is, from shortly before one Passover to the next Passover season. If this is a true indication of the time, the greater part of the year is to be assigned to the northern ministry, with only a brief journey through Peræa, and a few days in Jerusalem before the arrest and crucifixion. If, on the other hand, the time indications of the Fourth Gospel are combined with certain suggestions in the first three, as has been done by most students of the life of Jesus in the past, there results a public ministry of a little more than two or a little more than three years, depending on whether three or four Passover seasons are recognized. There are good reasons for doubting whether the author of the Fourth Gospel was trying to arrange his scenes from Jesus' ministry in chronological order, but there are also good reasons for believing that his picture of Jesus as having visited Jerusalem on various occasions previously to the final week there is historical. The Gospel of Mark, followed in their general order by Matthew and Luke, gives an impression of too short and

simple a chronological and geographical outline for the public ministry of Jesus. It is very possible that Jesus visited Jerusalem early in his ministry and that he was there on the occasion of various feasts, as indicated in the Fourth Gospel. If this is the case, his public activity may be regarded as having begun in the year 26 or 27 A.D., and as having ended in the spring of 29 or 30 A.D. If the public ministry occupied only a little more than one year, it may not have begun till the winter of 29 A.D.

On the supposition of the longer ministry, Jesus left Galilee for the last time in the early fall, and for the next five or six months was teaching and healing in Peræa and Judæa and was, for a time, in quiet sojourn with his immediate followers in a secluded region of the latter province. The Peræan portion of Antipas's territory was perhaps more predominantly Jewish than Galilee. While the Gospels of Mark and Matthew suggest merely a journey through this transjordanian district, Luke indicates a ministry in this region to which he assigns a large and important portion of Jesus' teaching. It is John's account of the Master's presence in Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles in the early autumn, and again at the feast of Dedication in December, which suggests that the Peræan ministry may have begun five or six months before the last Passover.

Ascribing the earliest possible date for the beginning of Jesus' public teaching, Antipas had already maintained himself in Galilee and Peræa fully thirty years at the time. We have no consecutive account of his long rule, but the close of its first decade is marked by an outbreak of rebellion against Rome, counted by Josephus as the beginning of the long series of events that led on to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, sixty-four years later. It is at this point that the Zealots appear in the history.⁴ The occasion of their outbreak was the enrolment of the people

⁴ Josephus *Antiquities*, xviii, 1, 6.

for purposes of taxation which marked the change from ethnarchy to procuratorship in Archelaus's territory, but which may have formed one of a regular fourteen-year cycle of imperial censuses. As Governor of Syria at this time, Quirinius was assigned the task of carrying out this enrolment that caused the fierce outbreak of Zealots, led by one Judas, a Galilean, and a certain Pharisee named Saddouk. While the party of the Zealots doubtless has its roots farther back, it appears from this time forward as an ever dangerous factor, ready at any time to rise in revolt and inaugurate the Messianic age with the sword.

An appreciation of the prevalence of this zealotic spirit in Galilee helps greatly toward an understanding of much in the ministry of Jesus, who sought to rouse the instant hope and zealous preparation of the people and yet to guard against their eagerness to hasten the Divine intervention by revolt from their political rulers. The moral difference between the Maccabean revolt against a persecutor who would root out every trace of the religion of Israel and the Zealots' outbreaks against a government which rarely even threatened the religious liberty of the people and generally gave them decent civil government, may well be emphasized.⁵

That there were voices within Judaism raised against the spirit of the Zealots may be inferred from the so-called Assumption of Moses, a work written in the Hebrew language at some time within the period 7 to 29 A.D., after Archelaus's banishment and before Antipas and Philip had ruled as long as their father. It was very probably in the early part of this period, soon after the Zealotic outbreak occasioned by the enrolment, that the author, a Pharisee who deplored the use of violence, urged the faithful simply to keep the law and prepare through repentance for the personal intervention of the eternal God alone. For this

⁵ Mathews, *History of New Testament Times*, p. 135.

writer, the true heroes of the Maccabean era were not the military leaders but the martyrs who had willingly suffered tortures for God and the Law. He expected the ultimate triumph of Israel over her foes, but rejected the hope of a Davidic prince, or any other Messianic deliverer; it was to be the eternal God alone.

Antipas lacked his father's resources for great building enterprises, but still was able to indulge the family taste to a considerable extent. His undertakings in this direction culminated in the building of Tiberias on the southwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee, an enterprise which seems to have been nearly contemporaneous with the public ministry of Jesus. While this new city and capital of the tetrarchy was so near the scenes of the public ministry, we have no knowledge that Jesus ever entered the place. Indeed the Jews, to whom his ministry was especially directed, at first shunned the town as ceremonially unclean. This Herod figures in the history of the times most conspicuously by reason of his unlawful marriage to Herodias and the troubles which it brought upon him. On a visit to Rome he became enamored of this wife of his half-brother who was residing there. An ambitious woman, granddaughter of Mariamne Maccabeus, she seems to have preferred the position of wife of a reigning tetrarch in Galilee rather than that of wife of his brother living as a private citizen in Rome. Antipas was already married to the daughter of the Arabian King Aretas who, learning of her husband's purpose to displace her by Herodias, fled to her father. To avenge the insult, Aretas began war against Antipás and defeated him so severely that the Emperor Tiberius ordered Vitellius, then Governor of Syria, to go to the Tetrarch's aid.

The New Testament narrative connects the arrest and death of John the Baptist with his denunciation of Herod's marriage to Herodias. Josephus, on the other hand, at-

tributes these events to the Tetrarch's fear lest the popular prophet might lead the people to rise in rebellion. Human motives in such cases are often mixed and both may well have operated in bringing about the death of the great prophet of righteousness—a death which seems to have weighed upon Herod's mind, so that he later thought Jesus to be John risen from the dead.⁶

Such information as we have concerning the life of Antipas fits well with Jesus' characterization of him as "that fox." It is said that he was wont to play the spy upon neighboring rulers and, in one instance, it is recorded that he sought to win the favor of Tiberius by forestalling Vitellius, whom he had accompanied on an embassy to the Parthian King, secretly getting the first report of the success of the negotiations to the Emperor. If this won Antipas favor with the Emperor, it cost him friendship on the part of Vitellius who later showed no eagerness to help him when he met reverses at the hand of Aretas. To maintain himself for more than forty years in favor with his Roman overlords without rousing such Jewish fanaticism as would force his removal, called for a certain skill in playing a double rôle; this Antipas seems to have done almost to perfection. He respected the Jewish antipathy to images, even on coins, and we find him in Jerusalem for the Passover season at the time of Jesus' arrest. There, he cleverly avoided any responsibility or suggestion of intrusion upon Pilate's prerogatives in such a way as to heal a previous estrangement between the Procurator and himself.⁷

It was the ambition of Herodias together with the enmity of his nephew, now his neighboring ruler, that finally led to Antipas's downfall. This nephew, Herod Agrippa I, brother of Herodias, had been made king of the former tetrarchy of his uncle Philip by the emperor Caligula.

⁶ Mt. xiv. 2; Mk. vi. 16.

⁷ Lk. xxiii. 6-12.

Agrippa, at a time when his fortunes were at a very low ebb, had been made superintendent of markets in Tiberias by Antipas, who later became displeased with him, so that their friendly relations were broken off. Agrippa's elevation to a kingship, upon the accession of Caligula to the Imperial power, roused the envious spirit of Herodias, who finally persuaded her husband to go to Rome and seek a like title for himself. Agrippa wrote to the Emperor, accusing his uncle of having arms gathered for revolt, and Antipas's rule ended like that of his brother Archelaus with a sentence of exile in Gaul. It is perhaps some slight mitigation of the evil fame of Herodias that she voluntarily accompanied her husband in his banishment.

The territory assigned to Herod Philip was of far less importance in resources and population than that of Archelaus or Antipas, and it enters New Testament history to only a slight extent. When Jesus, on occasion, crossed the Sea of Galilee or visited the regions of Cæsarea Philippi, he came into the territory ruled by Philip. The New Testament writers do not, however, find any occasion to mention this Herod himself⁸ who chiefly interests us as the builder of Bethsaida on the east bank of the Jordan just above where it empties into the lake, and of Cæsarea Philippi at the foot of Hermon, because of the appearance of these places in the Gospel narratives. It is refreshing, however, to pause for a moment with one member of the Herodian family whose main ambition seems to have been to maintain justice and the well-being of the relatively insignificant population entrusted to his rule. For thirty-eight years Philip thus ruled, until his life ended peacefully in the year 34 A.D., and his territory was for a time annexed to the province of Syria. Then, three years later, it was

⁸ The first husband of Herodias is also called Philip (Mk. vi. 17), but is not to be confused with his half-brother Philip the Tetrarch.

given to his nephew Herod Agrippa, who seems to have ruled it well until his own death, seven years later. The relatively small Jewish population in this northeastern portion of Palestine doubtless made it much easier for a Herod to maintain Roman rule there than in Galilee or Judæa.

Our survey of the long reigns of Antipas (to 39 A.D.) and Philip (to 34 A.D.) has carried us far beyond the time of Archelaus's banishment in 6 A.D. The intervening years in Judæa were marked by the rule of successive procurators who probably succeeded in maintaining better order than Archelaus had been able to do. When an emperor desired to hold immediate control, free from Senatorial direction, of a district which was not of sufficient importance to call for a governor of consular or prætorial rank, he might send as procurator a man of the equestrian order, responsible to no one but the Emperor himself. Thus, in 6 A.D., when it had become evident that the hostility of the Judæans made further Herodian rule impossible, Augustus sent Coponius as the first of the successive procurators who were to rule southern Palestine.

Of the procurators who governed from 6 to 41 A.D., the only one whose name especially concerns students of New Testament history is Pontius Pilate. His term of office covered the decade from 26 to 36 A.D., within which fell the entire public ministry of Jesus and the events connected with the rise of the Judæan Church recorded in the opening chapters of the Acts. From the point of view of his contemporaries, Pilate was of an unbending and recklessly hard character. In the accounts of the trial of Jesus he appears more eager to gratify Jewish fanaticism than to do justice. On certain other occasions he seems to have exasperated Jewish religious feelings unnecessarily. Possibly such instances as having the soldiers enter Jerusalem with their standards bearing the figure of the Emperor,

and the taking of the temple treasure to build an aqueduct, were due more to incapacity to understand the nature and intensity of Jewish religion than to any wanton purpose of offending, such as characterized some of the deeds of King Herod's later years. The obscure allusion in Luke xiii. 1 to certain Galileans whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices tends to confirm the charge of reckless hardness in his character. In contrast, Vitellius, the Governor of Syria, who had a certain measure of oversight in Judæa, was exceedingly considerate of the Jewish religious susceptibilities. It was he who at length sent Pilate to Rome to answer for his conduct in office.

Under the procurators, the people of Judæa enjoyed a large measure of civil and religious liberty, although disorders were suppressed with a heavy hand, and the people were subject to taxation, which they deeply resented. Yet it seems that a large part of the direct taxes was expended in Palestine for local purposes, and that only a fraction was rendered directly to Cæsar. The collection of these taxes by salaried officials is believed to have reduced greatly the abuses characteristic of the earlier provincial taxation under the Republic. The customs duties were, however, farmed out to the local publicans whose reputation for extortion was proverbial, and who were perhaps still more hated because they were looked upon as renegades, ready to profit under the foreign rule and at the expense of their fellow-countrymen and co-religionists. For those who were not Roman citizens the procurator was the final court of appeal and he might or might not follow the Jewish law in his decisions; but, except in cases involving capital punishment, in the vast majority of instances the local councils and especially the Jerusalem Sanhedrin administered justice according to their own law. The Jerusalem Sanhedrin, indeed, enjoyed much greater authority than it had under Herod.

Although much offence must have been given by the Emperor's image on the gold and silver coins that circulated in the land, the local, copper coinage was free from such emblems, and in almost every way the people were allowed full religious liberty, with their ritual ideas traversed as little as possible. They were not required to sacrifice *to* the Emperor, but only to offer a daily sacrifice in the Temple *for* him; this involved no recognition of any foreign deity such as Antiochus Epiphanes had sought to enforce.

Near the end of the period under review, the mad Caligula threatened to change all this by requiring his image to be set up in the Jerusalem Temple as well as in the synagogues of Egypt. In this crisis, Philo the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, went as a member of an embassy to Rome to plead with the Emperor, and finally Herod Agrippa's influence with Caligula saved the profanation of the Temple and the bloody uprising which could hardly have failed to follow. Even the Syrian Legate Petronius, who was directed to have the statue set up in the Temple, ventured to send a letter of remonstrance, which so offended Caligula that the governor was saved from an order to commit suicide only by the timely taking off of the Emperor in the year 41 A.D.

Although various minor disturbances had arisen during the thirty-five years of procuratorial rule of Judæa, the government of the sensitive, difficult district seems to have been on the whole about as successful as was possible under existing conditions. The military force under the procurator's command consisted, it is estimated, of only three thousand provincials, recruited largely from the districts of Samaria and Cæsarea, where the procurator lived and had his principal garrison. This force was not a large one for maintaining order in a land where the spirit of revolt against foreign rule was prevalent and where ancient inter-

nal hatreds such as those between the Jews and the Samaritans were always liable to precipitate an outbreak.

After the banishment of Antipas in the year 39, his tetrarchy was added to the kingdom of his nephew Agrippa who had already reigned in Philip's tetrarchy for the preceding two years. With the accession of Claudius, two years later still, the procuratorial rule of southern Palestine was terminated for the time, and this territory also was added to the kingdom of Agrippa. Thus in the year 41 A.D., the kingdom of Herod, which was divided at his death, was reunited under the rule of his grandson.

The new ruler had had a checkered career of royal favor in Rome, of spendthrift bankruptcy and flight, of imprisonment for expressing the wish that his former patron Tiberius might die so that Caligula could come to the throne, of release when the desired events occurred, and of honors bestowed by Caligula and Claudius, until at last he became the first true successor of his grandfather as king of all Palestine. Despite his earlier reckless habits, as a king Agrippa seems eventually to have devoted himself whole-heartedly and with real ability to the duties of government. His era was a golden one for the Jews. Caligula was Agrippa's friend, Claudius was under obligation to him for a part in securing his firm establishment upon the throne, and Agrippa used his influence at Court to secure the Jews of Alexandria their former privileges and to obtain rights for this people throughout the Empire. It was probably in pursuance of the policy of gratifying his Jewish subjects that Agrippa had James the son of Zebedee beheaded. The Book of Acts tells us that when he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to seize Peter also.⁹ After Peter's night escape from the Jerusalem prison, we have no knowledge of any further extension of the persecution; it is probable that it was not begun till shortly before

⁹ Acts xii. 1-3.

Agrippa's death and was checked by that sudden catastrophe for Judaism. Agrippa had reigned over all Palestine only three years (41-44 A.D.) when he was smitten with some fatal malady as he reached the height of his power.¹⁰ The contact of the political history of Palestine and the history of the early Church at the fixed date of Agrippa's death, marks the year 44 as a milestone in New Testament chronology.

As in the years of Herod's reign (37-4 B.C.), so in the period of his sons and grandson (4 B.C.—44 A.D.), Palestine produced but little literature that has been preserved for future generations. Reference has already been made to one work designed to counteract the revolutionary spirit of the day in which certain elements of the Pharisees were allying themselves with political and military activities. The era of Jewish apocalyptic literature, so characteristic of Maccabean times, had largely passed. The great rabbinical teachers were not encouraging literary activity; their pupils were led to memorize the dicta of the masters, which were not committed to writing until several generations later. If songs, patriotic or religious, were being composed during this half century, little trace of them has been preserved except in the case of those which the Christian writer Luke connects with the birth of Jesus and John. It may be that already, before the close of Agrippa's rule, collections of Jesus' sayings were taking written form among the Christians of Jerusalem, but no one of our New Testament writings in its present form is to be dated as early as the year 44 A.D.

Like the unnamed author of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, Philo lived in Alexandria, yet he exercised an influence, direct or indirect, upon some of the New Testament writings that calls for notice in a history of New Testament literature. Already advanced in years when he went on

¹⁰ Acts xii. 20-23; Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 8, 2.

the embassy to Caligula in the year 40 A.D., he must have been born during the reign of the elder Herod, some years before the birth of Jesus. His voluminous writings show the influence especially of the philosophy of Plato, the Pythagoreans, and the Stoics.

The great aim of his thinking was the effort to harmonize the teachings of Moses and the Greek philosophers. While clinging firmly to his Jewish monotheism and the absolute authority of the Pentateuch as the Divine revelation of the truth in things religious, his Platonism deprived his God of definite attributes and the possibility of direct contact with the world, and forced Philo to the most extravagant allegorical interpretations of the Scriptures, in which he outdid the Palestinian rabbis. Had his philosophy ended with his abstract conception of God, it would hardly have been of service to the early Christian writers in their effort to interpret Christ to the Græco-Roman world.

Philo went on to make connection between his absolute God and the world, partly on the basis of the Old Testament conceptions of Jehovah's creative word and that Wisdom which was with him in creation, identified with Plato's "Ideas" conceived as efficient causes and the Stoic conception of the "Reason" (Logos) which operates in the world. These Divine forces, the word and wisdom of God, he identifies also with the demons of the Greeks and the angels of the Jews by which, especially in the later Old Testament writings, Jehovah is pictured as communicating with the finite world. The Logos is thus conceived as the highest mediator between God and the world, through which, indeed, the world was created.

When, at the end of the first Christian century, a disciple who had had a profound personal experience of one whom he had known in the flesh and yet recognized as Son of God, wished to set forth at once the humanity and Divinity of Jesus the Christ, for the benefit of readers

who had some knowledge of current philosophical terms, he found in Philo's Logos a fit instrument of expression. Philo had given his own Jewish interpretation to this term which he had borrowed from the Greek philosophers, and the writer of the Fourth Gospel gave his Christian interpretation to the Philonic term. Other New Testament writings afford only less striking examples of the service which Philo rendered to the early interpreters of the Gospel in the Gentile world.

CHAPTER III

RISE AND EARLY SPREAD OF THE JEWISH CHRISTIAN CHURCH—29 OR 30 TO 44 A. D.

One of the most remarkable statements in the early accounts of the resurrection appearances of Jesus is that these continued only through the brief period of forty days, except for the one manifestation to Paul on the road to Damascus. It has been forcibly argued that if the appearances had been pure hallucinations caused by excitement, they would have continued for a longer period. It is to be noted that religious enthusiasm seems to have reached the peak of ecstatic conviction at the time of the fiftieth-day feast, only a few days after the completion of the forty day period, yet there is no suggestion of the risen Jesus appearing to anyone at that time.

Pentecost has sometimes been styled the "Birthday of the Church," but it seems more true to the facts to think of the Church as having come into existence a little earlier. The narrative of Acts speaks of about a hundred and twenty together in Jerusalem when Matthias was selected to fill the vacancy in the company of the Disciples caused by the defection and death of Judas. In our earliest enumeration of the resurrection appearances, Paul tells of an appearance to more than five hundred brethren who were together.¹ Whether these five hundred were gathered in Jerusalem or Galilee is not indicated in Paul's account. On the whole, it is probable that this was one of the Gali-

¹ I Cor. xv. 6.

lean manifestations, but, in either case, if it is placed within the forty-day period named in Acts, it is a clear indication that the company of brethren had attained considerable numbers before the Pentecostal experience. The association of any such numbers as those indicated in these two narratives, styled in both instances by the ordinary designation of the early Church fellowship, "brethren," may well be thought of as constituting the primitive Christian Church.

The day of Pentecost was significant to the writer of Acts as the end of the period of waiting for the promised endowment with the Spirit and as a time when a very great number of Jews became convinced of the Messiahship of Jesus and associated themselves with his followers. Perhaps the majority of these were Palestinian Jews, but the narrative clearly gives the impression that many were Hellenists who had dwelt in the Gentile world, from Persia on the east to the western limits of Asia Minor and to Cyrene of North Africa on the west.

The exact nature of the phenomenon of speaking with tongues that plays so prominent a part in the story of the day of Pentecost has been a subject of much debate. The writer of Acts represents it as greatly puzzling some of the listeners who felt themselves to be hearing the languages of the lands in which they lived, although others regarded the sounds as drunken babblings—an interpretation which Peter thought it worth while to refute. The account does not imply that the sympathetic listeners gained any definite message from the voice, though they regarded the Disciples as speaking the wonderful works of God, "an explanation of ecstatic utterances most natural for an Oriental."² Perhaps the language which each heard was that of "the heart where all languages are one."

On any theory of authorship, the writer of Acts was very

² W. B. Hill, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 33.

far from being an eye and ear witness of these events, whereas Paul gives a first-hand picture and estimate of the gift of tongues, as it was known and prized in Corinth a few years later. He regards it as one of the manifestations of the Spirit in the same way that the word of wisdom, or prophecy, or gifts of healings were manifestations of the Spirit.³ Yet he makes it clear that speaking in a tongue, as known in Corinth, was not speaking in any intelligible words. To prophesy was to utter words of edification, exhortation, and consolation, but to speak in a tongue was a matter between the speaker and God, unintelligible to human hearers. Paul would have them all practice it, but considers it far preferable to speak intelligible words. If one can afterward interpret his sounds in speech that upbuilds the hearers, well and good; let him who speaks with a tongue pray that he may be able to interpret. One who speaks to God with a tongue, prays in spirit, but not with the understanding. Paul himself both prays and sings with the spirit and with understanding. He speaks with tongues more than they all, but in the church he would rather speak five words with his understanding so as to instruct others than ten thousand words in a tongue.⁴

Clearly the gift of tongues as known and enjoyed by Paul was not the ability to speak a foreign language; it was the manifestation of a state of religious ecstasy which Paul counted as having a certain value for the man himself, as a matter between the individual and his God, not in itself profitable in the meetings of a church. There it was permissible only when the one who thus experienced an ecstatic sense of communion with God gained from it something which could be put into speech easy to be understood and of help to others.

If the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost was the ability to use foreign languages hitherto unknown to the

³ I Cor. xii. 6-11.

⁴ I Cor. xiv. 1-19.

speakers, it was a special miracle different from speaking in a tongue as understood by Paul. Whether the Jews gathered from many lands actually heard the languages of all those lands spoken by the company of Disciples in Jerusalem or only inarticulate sounds of men laboring under an overwhelming sense of the presence and power of the Spirit, the writer indicates that the mocking of those who thought the speakers intoxicated led Peter to speak wholly intelligible words unto much instruction and edification of the hearers. There is nothing to suggest that he now spoke in any other tongue than the Aramaic vernacular generally used by the Jews of Palestine and probably familiar to those of other lands now dwelling in Jerusalem.

How far the writer of Acts may have had accurate knowledge of the substance of Peter's address on this great occasion and how far he may have followed the current custom of historians of his time, putting into the mouth of the speaker what he thought appropriate for the occasion, we cannot feel perfectly certain. Yet, as we look back with our range of historical perspective and with the resources of modern historical criticism, we cannot doubt that the line of thought ascribed to Peter on the day of Pentecost represents the general thought of the earliest Christian teachers. The address, beginning with an explanation of the spiritual ecstasy as a fulfillment of Joel's vision, passes to an argument for the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth based on the ground of the mighty works which God had done through him, and especially on the ground of the resurrection, itself a fulfillment of Davidic prophecy.

Herein we may well believe that we have a statement of the more tangible grounds which had convinced the first Disciples themselves that God had made both Lord and Christ this Jesus who had been crucified. At a later date, reflection upon Jesus' words and personality will reveal

through some of the New Testament writers more subtle, perhaps more universal, grounds for belief in him.

The speaker at Pentecost was a Galilean fisherman who believed in the manifestation of God through powers and wonders and who expected a Messiah in fulfillment of Old Testament hopes. He was addressing fellow Jews who had similar beliefs and hopes; in doing so, he set forth the most obvious and tangible facts and the considerations which had convinced him and his associates that God had made Jesus of Nazareth both Lord and Christ. It is probable that Peter himself had been drawn to Jesus and first convinced that he was the Messiah, in part at least, by his wondrous personality and his words of eternal life; but, at this early date and even later, he might have been unable to put these inner experiences into the words of the Third and Fourth Gospels. If he had done so, they probably would not have greatly influenced that mixed Jewish company on the day of Pentecost.

The absence from this speech of Peter of the great, characteristic elements of the Pauline as well as of the Lucan and Johannine interpretations of Jesus leads to a strong conviction that the author of Acts knew the earliest thought of the Apostles and adhered closely to it in recording the Pentecostal address. It may be noted also that Peter uses a quotation from Psalm cx which, according to the Synoptic Gospels, had been similarly interpreted by Jesus to confound the Pharisees and perhaps also to suggest that the Messiah was to be something other and greater than their anticipated second David.

When called upon by the hearers who had been pricked in heart to answer definitely what they should do, Peter's reply was the same as the call that had been given by John the Baptist; repent and be baptized; but now there is added the name of Jesus and the promise of the Holy Spirit. That, at this early date and to this assembly of Jewish

hearers, Peter also added that the promise was to all who were afar off, as many as God should call, seems less probable, unless the 'all' was understood as applying only to Jews of the dispersion. The later account of Peter at Joppa is not in accord with the idea that he had already apprehended the universal character of the Christian message; subsequent events suggest that the Apostles still believed they were to limit their mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and that they would not have gone through the cities of Israel before the Son of Man should come.

Leaving such detailed difficulties aside, we conclude that seven weeks after the resurrection day, Peter as spokesman for the Spirit-endowed disciples of Jesus, delivered a simple, convincing address which was followed by the adherence of great numbers to the new fellowship composed of those Jews who accepted Jesus as the promised Messiah. In considering the credibility of the round number three thousand who are said to have been added that day, it should be borne in mind that these converts were already "devout Jews;" they were not unreligious men now first won to a religious faith, but men who were anticipating a God-sent savior.

From the broad general view of a later time, the Jews rejected Jesus, but the fact should not be overlooked that the history written by a Gentile Christian of the first century reckons the membership of the early Jewish Christian Church by the thousands. Even if, with Harnack, we should consider the vivid Pentecostal narrative and its sequel as a second and inferior account of the early events recorded in chapters iii and iv, the rapid growth of the early days in Jerusalem remains in the historic record; unless with Harnack we go on to arbitrary reduction of the round number five thousand⁵ to five hundred—still a considerable number.

⁵ Acts iv. 4.

Our sole early source which attempts to give anything like a connected account of the rise and early spread of the Church, the Book of the Acts, was written with a very definite plan to mark out certain great stages of progress in the Spirit-guided advance from Jerusalem to Rome. Even if the Gentile author had had available full and complete accounts of the early years, he would have been forced to select typical incidents and to exclude many things that we would like to know, in order to make clear the great theme with which he was concerned.

At times, the method so successful in the main, tends by its schematized view to give a false impression, or one of apparent inconsistency. It would seem, for example, from the opening statement of the book that there should follow immediately after the account which we have been considering, a narrative of the spread of the new faith through the cities of Judæa. The Disciples had been commanded to tarry in Jerusalem for the baptism of the Holy Spirit and then to go forth as witnesses in all Judæa and through Samaria and unto the uttermost part of the earth. The baptism of the Spirit had been given with power that convinced thousands in Jerusalem. Were the Apostles satisfied to remain in Jerusalem ministering to the growing Church there? So Acts seems to represent. In the series of incidents at Jerusalem which occupy the third, fourth, and fifth chapters, Peter and John alone of the Twelve appear, but in the beginning of the sixth chapter, the Twelve are spoken of as still in Jerusalem in charge of the administration of the Church there.

No account is given of any mission outside the city until the outbreak of persecution beginning with the stoning of Stephen; then we read of preaching in Samaria, not of the witnessing in all Judæa anticipated in the first chapter. We cannot doubt, however, that the Gospel message had already spread throughout Judæa and beyond, for Saul

shortly after the martyrdom of Stephen, is seeking authority of the High Priest against Christians of Damascus, far beyond the bounds of Judæa or Samaria. When he later wrote concerning the time three years after his conversion, he spoke of the churches of Judæa. Either Luke's sources failed to give any account of the establishment of these churches outside of Jerusalem, or he failed to find place for the record in his narrative. It is strange, however, that he promised witnessing in all Judæa and then gave no account of so doing.

How large a part members of the original apostolic group may have had in the early spread of the Church through southern Palestine we have no direct means of knowing. During the first twelve or thirteen years covered by the Book of the Acts, Peter and John are the only ones of the eleven mentioned by name, except in the bare enumeration of those who returned from Olivet after the ascension. When Saul visited Jerusalem three years after his conversion, apparently all but Peter had left the city.⁶ Both Matthew and Luke record final missionary commissions to the disciples. It seems hardly possible that the two Jameses, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Bartholemew, Matthew, Simon, and Judas took no part in the spread of the Gospel outside of Jerusalem. Paul, in writing to the Church in Corinth, speaks as though it were well known that the other Apostles, as well as Peter, were traveling about, but he is as silent as the Book of the Acts concerning any details.⁷

Presumably at an early date they made excursions outside of Jerusalem, going from village to village throughout Judæa and beyond. Had they not done so, it is difficult to see how these men who had been styled disciples should have come to be known as apostles (envoys, missionaries). Perhaps we can get a truer picture of the way

⁶ Gal. i. 18-19.

⁷ I Cor. ix. 5.

the new faith spread throughout Palestine, after the death of Jesus, from the directions recorded in connection with the sending forth of the Twelve and the Seventy, during the northern ministry of Jesus, than from the Book of the Acts.

Although the Twelve may have continued to make Jerusalem their headquarters for some time after the Pentecostal experience, we may picture them as going out along the roads that lead to the south and west and north, or even down to the Jordan valley on the east, relying on the hospitality of someone in each village, to whose house they might be welcomed and where they might be allowed to remain until they could proclaim to the people of that community the message of the risen son of David who, during his earthly life, had wrought many mighty deeds, healing the sick and teaching the law of life. We may well believe that such teachings of Jesus as were later gathered in written form were repeated to their fellow countrymen by these men who had themselves heard the gracious and penetrating words. It was, indeed, very probably one of this company, the former tax collector Matthew, who first compiled a written collection of Jesus' *logia* (oracles) as they had become formulated in the Judæan Church.

If we are left largely to inference in our effort to picture the witnessing in all Judæa of which Acts speaks, we find a more impenetrable veil of silence drawn over Galilee after the resurrection appearances recorded as occurring there; although it is possible that Luke's use of Judæa in Acts i. 8 may include Galilee, as it seems to in Acts x. 37 and Luke xxiii. 5. It was in Galilee, probably, that the appearances had occurred to above five hundred brethren at once and to the previously unbelieving brother of Jesus who was later to become the honored head of the Jerusalem Church. It was probably not long after his resurrection experience that this brother, James, took up his abode in Jerusalem;

he was there, at any rate, three years after Saul's conversion and already looked upon as an Apostle.

The Eleven returned to Jerusalem within the few days following the manifestations in Galilee, but it scarcely seems probable that the five hundred brethren permanently removed to Jerusalem; yet we have no record nor tradition of the spread of the new faith in Galilee after the resurrection. It seems strange indeed if the province in which the larger part of Jesus' ministry had occurred and from which the early Apostles had come, did not contain any permanent groups of those who continued loyal to the way, although no record has been preserved.

In this part of the history, the writer of Acts is concerned with the rapidly growing body of brethren in Jerusalem, with their generous fellowship, and with the troubles from without and from within which were soon clouding thick upon them. A general statement as to the common life of the greatly enlarged company of believers follows the account of the Pentecostal outpouring. Fear engendered by the wonders and signs wrought through the Apostles, generous sharing of goods, daily attendance in the Temple, breaking bread at home, gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with the people—such are the characteristics of the common life as the later writer of Acts summarizes it. He is fully aware, however, that this ideal picture is not the whole story and proceeds to set forth a series of troubles which called for all the wisdom and courage that Spirit-filled men might possess.

During the lifetime of Jesus, it was the strict adherents of the Mosaic law as interpreted by their professional scribes, the Pharisees, who chiefly appeared as bitter opponents. Matthew represents some of their number as going with the chief priests to Pilate, after the crucifixion, to ask a guard for the tomb; but he agrees with Luke in making

the Sadducean priests the principal aggressors in the last days of the ministry. In the Gospel of Luke, the last distinct mention of the Pharisees is in connection with the triumphal entry, five days before the crucifixion.

Luke is therefore quite consistent with himself, as well as with the inherent probabilities of the situation, in making the opposition after Pentecost come from the Sadducees rather than the Pharisees. Jesus' defiance of the Sadducean priests in cleansing the Temple, followed by his daily teaching there, probably constituted the immediate occasion of his arrest and deliverance to Pilate. Leading Pharisees within and without the Sanhedrin may well have been perfectly willing to have one who taught such unorthodox views and who despised their religiosity put out of the way, but it seems to have been the Sadducean priests who were more immediately responsible for the arrest and death.

There does not seem, therefore, any just ground for questioning, as is sometimes done, the accuracy of Luke's narrative in making the Sadducees, rather than the Pharisees, the aggressors in the attempt to stop the public ministry of the Apostles in Jerusalem. Nor does there appear any adequate ground for questioning the general historical character of the account of Peter's healing a man and then using the occasion offered by the gathering of the people, to preach the risen Christ and repentance, in the court of the Temple. In fact, this narrative and its sequences⁸ may have been derived from an older and more reliable source than chapters i and ii.

The Sadducees are represented as sore troubled because Peter preached the resurrection of the dead, but it is quite possible that fear of excited disturbance and disorder such as Jesus had occasioned in the Temple only a few weeks before, may have been the chief reason why the priests and Captain of the Temple put Peter and John under arrest.

⁸ Acts iii. 1-v. 16.

Whatever may have been the real motive of the arrest, there was evidently in this case no plausible charge of sedition which could be brought against the Apostles; there was nothing to do but to threaten them and let them go. The next stage in official opposition is regarded as due to a development in the excitement of the people over Peter's power to heal the sick, which led to scenes in Jerusalem similar to those recorded in Capernaum at the beginning of Jesus' Galilean ministry. Again, and naturally, it is the priests and their Sadducean supporters who undertake to check the growing disturbance by imprisonment of the Apostles, followed this time by a flogging, since the mere verbal threats of the previous trial had not deterred them from their public activity.

Although there is no sufficient ground for denying the general historical character of the Apostles' public work in the outer court of the Temple and of the interference of the Temple authorities and their Sadducean supporters, the second account⁹ looks very like a doublet of the preceding one, whose variant details heightened in transmission led Luke to regard it as an account of different and later events. The feature of a night release of Peter may also be a variant of that recorded in chapter xii. In the speech ascribed to Gamaliel in this narrative, we can scarcely question that we have an example of the usual method of ancient historians who put appropriate sentiments into the speaker's mouth. The address was made to the Sanhedrin after the Apostles had been put out, so that they had no opportunity to hear it delivered, and further, Gamaliel is represented as referring to a Messianic outbreak under Theudas, which Josephus represents as actually occurring at a considerably later date. Altogether the events recorded in Acts v. 17-42 exhibit the characteristics of a later and less reliable account than that of chapter iii. While chapter ii

⁹ v. 17-42.

may have come from the same later source, it does not seem to the present writer that its central facts of the Pentecostal experience are to be discarded as unhistorical.

Turning from the outward trouble occasioned by official opposition, we must consider the nature of the more insidious troubles arising within the new fellowship. The narrative asserts that all who believed were together and had all things common, and that not one of the multitude who believed said that aught of the things he possessed was his own; yet it clearly indicates that no formal communism was established by which everyone who joined the fellowship would have been compelled to contribute all his property to the common stock.

This comes out in the first narrative of internal trouble, the incident of Ananias and Sapphira. They are not condemned for keeping back part of the sale price of their property, but for lying unto God. On the contrary, Peter is represented as saying to Ananias, "While it remained, did it not remain thine own? and after it was sold was it not in thy power?" The occasion was a very critical one for the young Church into which such disintegrating falsehood and hypocrisy had come. Luke plainly considers this the real evil rather than any violation of a rule of communism.

Another internal trouble which Acts records was concerned with the distribution of the property that was voluntarily contributed. Although the Church in Jerusalem was made up wholly of Jewish believers, these represented different elements, the Palestinian and the Hellenistic Jews. Jealousy between these two social groups, now united in the new association within Judaism which their common belief in Jesus as the Messiah had effected, was pretty certain to arise, especially if the new fellowship had a prominent charitable side. We might expect the new union to show cleavage along the line between the Galilean and

Jerusalem elements, but Acts gives no hint of any discord between these, and the Jerusalem Church continued under Galilean leadership for many years. It was the Hellenistic members, those who had lived outside of Palestine, who felt that unfair discrimination was being made, that their widows were being neglected in the daily ministrations. The Twelve met the difficulty in a manner altogether wise and practical by proposing the selection of seven, trusted by all as men full of the Spirit and wisdom, who should look after the distribution to the needy, while they themselves should remain true to their apostleship as ministers of the word rather than ministers of material goods. The seven selected have often been styled deacons (attendants, servants, ministers), but the name is not applied to these men in the New Testament. How successful they may have been in the humble but important task to which they were appointed by the suffrages of the Jerusalem Christians, we have no means of knowing. Their fellow-believers appointed them to serve tables, but two of them, at least, were appointed by the Spirit for the apostolic office of ministering the word. Stephen and Philip fill places in the record which we might have expected to be occupied by the primitive Apostles.

Stephen, probably himself an Hellenist, selected to administer alms because the Hellenists felt their needy ones neglected, was the immediate occasion of an outbreak in a synagogue of foreign-born Jews. The earlier interference with the public work of the Apostles had probably led them to avoid public disturbance and to work in less conspicuous places than the Temple. The synagogue was a democratic institution where, as we may see in the incident of Jesus at Nazareth, laymen might participate in reading and speaking. We do not know how far the Apostles were accustomed to take advantage of these opportunities during the early days in Jerusalem, but it

was evidently in a synagogue of his fellow-Hellenists that Stephen found opportunity to set forth the new teaching. The mention of Cilicians as associated with this synagogue suggests the possibility that among these may have been the young Pharisaic scholar Saul from Tarsus of Cilicia. Luke represents those who arose and disputed with Stephen as being unable to withstand the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spoke; so they resorted to suborned witnesses under the guise of legal procedure.

Haled before the Sanhedrin, Stephen was charged with contumacious speech against the Temple and the Law, declaring that Jesus would destroy the holy place and change the customs which Moses gave them. It is not impossible that Stephen may have repeated some of the words of Jesus concerning the coming destruction of the Temple. These would form a plausible basis for the two-fold charge, since the destruction of the Temple must necessarily imply changes in the Jewish sacrificial system such as were actually brought about when the soldiers of Titus burned the sanctuary, forty years later. That Stephen had made any direct attack upon the Mosaic law and practice seems highly improbable; everything points to the conclusion that the Jerusalem disciples were ever zealous for the law.

Permitted to speak for himself before the Council, Stephen did not enter into a direct defence against the charges; he took advantage of the opportunity to make an address based upon the national history which led up naturally to the thought that his hearers, like their fathers of old, had rejected the God-sent leader and deliverer. Near the close of the address there comes in the thought that the hand-built Temple was non-essential; this seemed to confirm the charge made against him. Then, when his hearers were roused to indignation, he, filled with the Holy Spirit, looked fixedly upward and declared that he saw

the glory of God and Jesus standing on the right hand of God.

He had now given adequate ground for inflicting the death penalty prescribed by the law for blasphemy.¹⁰ Under the Jewish code the proceedings were thus far in due form of law, but now the witnesses who are to cast the first stones¹¹ and the people do not seem to have waited for sentence to be pronounced, and a puzzling question arises as to the attitude of the Procurator. The Romans had deprived the Hebrew court of the right to inflict the death penalty. In the case of Jesus, the Sanhedrin had not dared to act, although they had adjudged him worthy of death under the law against blasphemy. At that time Pilate was in Jerusalem for the Passover season; now he may have been in Cæsarea and so may not have taken cognisance of the matter. The narrative implies no intervening time in which formal assent from the Roman authorities could have been obtained. Possibly Pilate was willing to follow up the death penalty inflicted on Jesus by allowing the Jewish authorities a somewhat free hand in dealing with his followers.

We cannot tell with any certainty how long a period elapsed between the resurrection of Jesus and the death of Stephen. Acts gives no clear indications of the time intervals involved in the successive events recorded during these early years, and we are forced to rely on a reckoning backward from chronological indications in the latter part of the book and in Paul's epistles. Here, unfortunately, indications are conflicting, leaving an uncertainty of several years. The probabilities point to a period of not more than one or two years between the death of Jesus and that of the first of his followers to drink of the cup which he drank.

The writer of Acts can find no words of appreciation too

¹⁰ Lev. xxiv. 16.

¹¹ Deut. xvii. 7.

high to apply to the character of the first martyr for Christ. Of the seven selected as of good report, full of the Spirit and of wisdom, Stephen is named first and he alone is individually characterized as a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit. Again, he was full of grace and of power; his opponents were not able to withstand the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spake. Before the Council, his face was as it had been the face of an angel. At the end, he is granted a sustaining vision of Jesus on the right hand of God and, as the death-dealing stones were hurled, he called upon the Lord, saying, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit" and then, on his knees, prayed for forgiveness of his slayers, and so fell asleep. The writer of Acts gives in his earlier volume the most beautiful portrait of Jesus in his universal humanity that has ever been drawn; after that supreme picture stands his perfect miniature of Stephen full of grace and power.

It is with a true historic sense that Luke emphasizes the martyrdom of Stephen and the ensuing persecution as of peculiar significance in his story of the spread of Christianity. Following his usual custom, he gives a striking example or two to indicate the way in which the work went forward. Philip, one of the seven, now undertakes missions which have given him through the ages the title of "the Evangelist." Going to Samaria he carried on a highly successful ministry of preaching and healing in the ancient capital of Israel. We recall that the city had been rebuilt by Herod and was now a beautiful town on its famous crown-shaped hill, with temple, theatre, and colonnaded street, after the approved Grecian standards of the day.¹² The Samaritans shared something of the Jewish hope of a Messianic deliverer, although their sacred literature included only the first five books of the Hebrew Bible.

In the little Samaritan village of Sychar, nine miles from

¹² Chap. I.

Samaria, Jesus had received a responsive hearing from the people, only three or four years before Philip's visit to the region. Whether any report of that wonderful visitor had been carried to Samaria before the visit of Philip we cannot say. Curious attestation to the Evangelist was given by a celebrated sorcerer named Simon, influenced no doubt by the cures which were wrought more than by the preaching of the kingdom. Subsequent events lead us to question whether Simon was ever sincere in his belief and reception of the rite of baptism and did not rather shrewdly decide to seek partnership in wonder-working. References in the second century writers, Justin and Irenæus, make it very probable that he ultimately set himself up as a messiah and attracted a considerable following.

According to Acts, many men and women of Samaria believed Philip as he preached the gospel of the kingdom and were baptized. Luke further records that the fame of Philip's work reached Jerusalem, and that the Apostles sent Peter and John, through whose laying on of hands the Holy Spirit was imparted to the Samaritan converts. This narrative seems to show the editorial hand of Luke, interpreting the simpler and more natural account of his sources according to a somewhat mechanical conception of the organization of the early churches, under a formal hierarchy of the Apostles, and of the impartation of the Spirit only through the agency of these leaders. Elsewhere Luke's own narratives show that no such intermediary was necessary for the impartation of the Spirit, and his narrative also shows that the new faith was quietly spreading without the necessity of formal oversight by the Apostles.

Here, as in the second chapter of Acts, the impartation of the Spirit is looked upon as giving certain more or less spectacular powers to the recipients. Simon coveted the power and offered money for it. Peter sternly rebuked

him and bade him repent, with words that frightened the sorcerer so that he besought Peter's prayers that he might be spared the punishment. This attempted purchase of religious privileges gave rise to the Latin word *simonia*, the source of our English 'simony' and similar words in the Romance languages. If later beliefs concerning the subsequent course of Simon's conduct have any basis of fact beyond the events recorded in Acts, it would seem that the professed penitence had no deeper root than fear of punishment.

The Samaritan mission shows the new faith reaching out to those who are not full Jews, but still not Gentiles. While the hostility between Jew and Samaritan was very bitter, it was recognized as almost a family quarrel. Even the tradition of the rabbis permitted a Jew to have table-fellowship with a Samaritan, a recognition which could by no means be extended to Gentiles.

The next incident which Acts records shows the Evangelist extending the bounds of the new fellowship a little farther, as he receives to baptism the officer of Queen Candace of Ethiopia. Luke does not, however, seem to regard the officer as a Gentile. If he was not, like Nehemiah of Old, a Jew holding office in a foreign court, he evidently owned some allegiance to the Jewish religion, since he had been to Jerusalem to worship and, on his return, was thoughtfully reading the prophet Isaiah. The new mission took Philip down from the Judæan and Samaritan hill country to the old Philistine coast plain. Passing through the towns of the busy plain, he preached in each till he came to Cæsarea. Whether this had been his earlier home we do not know, but the writer of Acts seems to understand that it was his permanent place of abode from this time on. He was living at Cæsarea with his four daughters, more than twenty years later, when Paul was on his way to Jerusalem for the last time.

Following the work of Philip in Samaria and on the coast plain, Acts tells of the conversion of Saul and of Cornelius a Roman centurion. These we shall discuss in connection with the beginnings of Gentile missions; yet, in concluding our survey of the rise and early spread of Jewish Christianity, we may consider certain facts presupposed in these narratives. We have already noted that shortly after the death of Stephen, there were Christians in the great Syrian city of Damascus, beyond the confines of Palestine, a hundred and forty miles to the northwest of Jerusalem. There were also believers in the cities of the coast plain, Lydda and Joppa, who were visited by Peter before his epoch-making visit to the Centurion in Cæsarea.

Evidently we must picture to ourselves little groups of Christians as living in the cities of Judæa and Samaria, probably also in Galilee, and certainly as far away as Damascus, before five years had elapsed after the death of Jesus. How far beyond these limits the Hellenistic Jews had carried the message of the risen one attested as Lord and Christ, before Saul entered upon his labors among the Gentiles, it is difficult to say, but it was probably less than five years before the new message was carried at least to Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Syrian Antioch.

It is evident from the way in which Luke emphasizes Peter's visit to Cornelius and his defence of his conduct in Jerusalem, that he counts it a decisive step in advance of Philip's work in the same region. The introduction of Saul's conversion also, in the midst of the Jerusalem-Cæsarean cycle of narratives, shows that Luke is looking forward to the transfer of interest from Jewish to Gentile Christianity. Only once after the account of Stephen's martyrdom does Jerusalem become again the center of interest in Acts; when it appears at all, it is in relation to the development of Gentile Christianity.

The one instance is the occasion recorded in chapter

xii.1-24 when the Jerusalem Church is again subjected to persecution. This time it is at the instance not of Sanhedrin or Synagogue, but of the Herodian King, Agrippa I. Since Judæa was not added to Agrippa's kingdom until 41 A.D., and the king died in 44, this persecution must be dated within the three-year period. We have seen reason in the previous chapter to believe that it came just at the close of Agrippa's reign and was of very brief duration. All we know of it is that James the son of Zebedee, who appears so prominently in connection with his brother John in the Gospel narratives, was arrested and put to death, and that Peter was also arrested when Agrippa found how pleasing to his subjects was the fate of James.

Peter, delivered from the prison by what was counted angelic intervention, went in the same night to the house of Mary the mother of John Mark, where he found many gathered together for prayer. Praying, we may well believe, for deliverance from the persecutor's hand, the company nevertheless could not at first believe that Peter had actually been released, but thought it must be his angel when he was reported at the entrance. When the Apostle, at length admitted to the gathering, had reported his wonderful release, he found some place of concealment, perhaps away from Jerusalem, and escaped re-arrest. Some three years after Agrippa's death, Peter was in Jerusalem participating in the discussion brought up to the Apostles and elders there from the Church of Antioch.

One of the most surprising facts concerning the Church in Jerusalem is that its leadership early passed from Peter to James "the Lord's brother," who had apparently had no belief in Jesus' claims until after the resurrection. In Paul's enumeration of the appearances of the risen Christ, the appearance to James is given as subsequent to those to Peter, to the Twelve, and to above five hundred brethren at once. We may properly infer that it was the resurrec-

tion experience which convinced James, who thereafter took up his abode in Jerusalem. When Paul visited Peter in Jerusalem, three years after his conversion, he found there James, whom he calls the Lord's brother and an Apostle.¹³ When, some ten years later than this, Peter was released from his imprisonment, he told those gathered at Mary's house to report the matter to James and the brethren. Henceforth, until his death in 62 A.D., this James appears as the head of the Jewish Christian Church.

¹³ Gal. i. 19.

CHAPTER IV

BEGINNINGS OF GENTILE MISSIONS— TO ABOUT 47 A.D.

AFTER recounting the rise and difficulties of the primitive Church in Jerusalem and its expansion through the ministry of Philip, the writer of Acts prepares to pass to the beginning of Gentile missions by giving an account of the conversion of Saul. Already, in connection with Stephen's execution, he has introduced this young man as the one at whose feet the witnesses laid their garments when they prepared to cast the death-dealing stones. Twice later in the book, Saul, then called Paul, is pictured recounting the circumstances of his conversion, once to the excited mob in the Temple court and once before King Agrippa II, who had become ruler of what had been the tetrarchy of his grand-uncle Philip. The three accounts differ in certain details and yet they have such close verbal agreements that it is difficult to believe that Luke had separate written sources for the three which he embodied verbatim.

To explain the differences in the midst of the close agreements is almost impossible. On the occasions of the two addresses, it may be that the author himself was present, and if the author of Acts was the diarist who wrote the original account of the voyage to Rome, he had ample opportunity to talk over the subject with Paul shortly after the delivery of the address before Agrippa. One of the points in which the third account differs from the others

is its representation that Saul received his commission to the Gentiles at the time when he saw the heavenly vision, on the road to Damascus. This accords better with Paul's emphasis in the Epistle to the Galatians upon the immediacy of the revelation by which he received his Gentile gospel than the record in the twenty-second chapter of Acts, which represents him as instructed by Ananias that he is to be a witness to the Gentiles, or in the ninth chapter, which pictures him as driven to this Gentile mission by the hostility of the Hellenistic Jews in Jerusalem.

Though we may not be able to account for the differences in the three narratives of Saul's conversion, we find the three in essential agreement upon the central facts that, on the road to Damascus with authority to bring bound to Jerusalem any whom he might find there of the Way, Paul suddenly saw a blinding light and heard a voice which he understood to be that of Jesus, whose authority he forthwith recognized. These facts, in which the three accounts agree, are in harmony with Paul's own written words. In Galatians¹ he recalls his persecution of the Church of God, followed by his sudden conversion due to the revealing of the Son of God in him; in I Corinthians, he affirms that Jesus appeared to him last of all.²

The suddenness with which Saul's conversion came has not been felt to preclude the possibility of tracing certain pre-conditions. From the point of view of the psychologist, instantaneous conversion may well be symbolized by "time-reactions" in the field of chemistry, in which two colorless liquids mixed together remain colorless for a time and then suddenly, in the twinkling of an eye, the whole changes to a beautiful tint. So certain elements of character and experience may already have mingled with Saul's Jewish training and zeal and prepared the whole life for its sudden transformation. A chemical time-reaction is not

¹i. 13-17.

²I Cor. xv. 8.

a complete symbol of Saul's conversion; there was needed also the impact of the external influence of the blinding light and heavenly voice, as a liquid already cooled below its freezing point may remain uncongealed until a moving or stirring force from without starts the crystals darting through the whole mass.

It has been customary to recognize that the trial and death of Stephen had deeply affected Saul. Presumably he had seen and heard Stephen before the Sanhedrin, when his face was as though it had been the face of an angel and when, as in their rage they gnashed on him with their teeth, he looking upward declared that he saw the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God. Certainly Saul had heard the dying prayer, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit," and the Christ-like cry for mercy upon those who hurled the cruel stones. Possibly it was from Paul's own lips, years later, that Luke had received some of these very details.

When, however, men are thoroughly imbued with the belief that certain fixed doctrines and practices are God-ordained essentials of their religion, the faith and moral beauty of one who seeks to introduce change in these doctrines and practices seems to embitter rather than to convince them. We cannot believe that the faith and moral beauty exhibited by Stephen form adequate pre-condition for Saul's sudden conversion. The immediate effect of Stephen's martyrdom was no doubt to intensify the young Pharisee's hostility to the new Way and its followers.

In the light of his later clear vision of the essential contradiction between the religion of Jesus and that of the Pharisees, it is probable that Saul already saw the danger to Judaism, with a clarity that was possible to none of the twelve Apostles or their associates. These men continued to believe that they might remain loyal members of the synagogue and worshipers in the Temple, and most of

them found it very hard, or impossible, to believe that anyone could become a member of the new fellowship without following the path of the old Jewish initiatory rites. The new Way was for them an extension of the old way, not a diverging road. If Saul was one of the participants in the synagogue debate, or one of the listeners when the disputants were unable to withstand the wisdom and the Spirit by which Stephen spake, the immediate result was a realization of inherent contradiction between this new Way and the way of the Pharisees in which he had been so straitly trained. Yet the impression of Stephen's word and life doubtless was one of the elements of experience that prepared Saul for the unexpected transformation on the road to Damascus.

It has come to be widely recognized that the Apostle himself opened a window upon his own earlier experience when he wrote the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, that reveals more fundamental elements in his preparation for the change than those which we have been considering. The very intensity of the young Saul's effort to keep perfectly the moral restraints imposed upon him by the exacting standards of the Mosaic regulations had utterly disheartened the eager young student of the law.

The particular commandment which he chooses by way of illustration is significant: *Thou shalt not covet*. The man who could, when occasion required, recall how he had advanced beyond many of his own age in those early days of study at the feet of the great Rabbi Gamaliel, knew the power of overweening desire for self-gratification in a way that cannot be known to those who are born to walk on the average level. Arrogance and towering ambition are the natural defects of the virtues which were inborn with Saul. The evil of these he had not realized until the full force of the Tenth Commandment, the most searching and spir-

itual of all those dealing with duties toward man, came upon him. Jesus with calm authority extended other moral commands of the Decalogue to the control of the inner purpose and desire. Saul, before ever he knew the teachings of Jesus, put his finger unerringly on the one command of the table of moral duties which made similar high demand, and his spirit died within him, for he knew his own carnal nature unable to meet the test—Thou shalt not lust after anything that is another's. The seventh and eighth commands would be quite superfluous, if this were fulfilled. Unable to satisfy his conscience thoroughly instructed in the rigid negations of the law, hopeless along that way, the young scholar had turned from discussions of the class room to the world of action, still in the toils of negation. He did not go forth as a missionary to win converts to Judaism, but as a hunter of heretics who were seeking to remain within the fold and to win their fellow-Jews to their way of belief and life. His natural leadership now asserted itself; he was the head and front of the persecution in Jerusalem that followed upon Stephen's death. It was apparently upon his own initiative that he obtained authority to hunt out heretics in distant Damascus.

Of keen conscience, sensible of failure in that to which he had devoted his life with success surpassing that of others, yet utterly unsatisfied, seeking satisfaction in active, heartless service that could afford no peace to his higher nature, brooding perhaps over another of keen mind like his own, who had found peace though all about him gnashed upon him with their teeth, though struck down to his knees by the hail of stones, Saul neared the close of his long days of journeying to Damascus, in the noonday heat of the desert sun. Perhaps the verdure of that wonderful oasis was already visible, into whose peace he was to come as one breathing out threatening and slaughter.

Suddenly there was for him a light brighter than the blinding sun and a voice audible to him if not to the others. The arrogant spirit had found its Master and knew the destiny to which it had been appointed of God: When it was the good pleasure of God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me through his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Gentiles; straightway I conferred not with flesh and blood.³

Like the Master after his baptism, Saul went away by himself, presumably for a period of adjustment, and then returned from Arabia to Damascus. Since three years elapsed before his return to Jerusalem, the first and third accounts of the conversion given in Acts are correct in representing his Christian ministry as beginning in Damascus.

Then comes a divergence between Paul's own account and the statements in Acts, which also vary among themselves. The narrative of Acts ix represents Saul as preaching boldly in Jerusalem and having free intercourse with the disciples there, after Barnabas had vouched for his conversion and Damascus service. With this the third account in Acts harmonizes, representing him as preaching not only in Jerusalem, but in all Judæa. The second account, on the contrary, represents his desire to preach in Jerusalem as prevented by a vision in the Temple directing him to leave the city speedily because they would not receive his testimony, and commissioning him to go far hence unto the Gentiles.

Since we have Paul's own written word, we must accept that in preference to any of these varying accounts. He writes the Galatians that after three years he went up to Jerusalem to interrogate (or, become acquainted with) Peter, and remained with him fifteen days; but other of the

³ Gal. i. 15-16.

Apostles he did not see, except James the Lord's brother, and when he went away, he was still unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa.⁴ It appears from his previous statement that he had already, at the time of his conversion, realized that his mission was to be, not to his fellow Jews, but to the Gentiles, and now after his fifteen days with Peter, he went away to the regions of Syria and Cilicia—the Acts narrative says to Tarsus, which was in Cilicia.

Apparently the author of Acts thinks of him as making his abode for the next few years at his old home; he represents Barnabas as going to Tarsus to get Saul some years later. It is not probable that Saul spent these eight or ten years wholly in his old home city of Tarsus. His own statement, "Syria and Cilicia," suggests a wider field of activity, and the account of his many vicissitudes experienced in his labors for Christ, given in II Corinthians xi. 21-27, 32-33, probably records some of the perils and sufferings which he endured during these early years of missionary labor in the regions about the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean. It is certainly difficult to find place for all of them in the period of his journeys recorded with such fullness in the latter half of Acts, and the episode of the escape from Damascus, dated by the rule of Aretas there, falls within the period after the three-year visit to Jerusalem.

It did not fall in with Luke's schematized plan to follow Saul through these years. He is concerned instead with showing that the early extension of the Gospel privileges to the Gentiles had the formal sanction of the Holy Spirit and of the Jerusalem leaders. So, after the first account of Saul's conversion, he tells at length of Peter's coming down to Lydda and Joppa on an itinerant mission and of his seeing a vision on the housetop in Joppa, which pre-

⁴Gal. i. 22.

pared him for the visit to the Gentile centurion, Cornelius of Cæsarea.

In view of the fact that Peter was regarded as especially the Apostle to the Jews ⁵ and that he later drew back from full fellowship with the Gentile Christians in Antioch, it has seemed to many improbable that the Cornelius incident can have occurred as recorded in Acts. It has been thought that it is introduced because of the mechanical idea that the Jerusalem Church had to have full oversight of each advance step, or for the harmonizing purpose of showing that there was no necessary antagonism between the Jerusalem and the Pauline types of Christianity. There can be no doubt that Peter was peculiarly the Apostle of the circumcision, as Paul was of the uncircumcision, yet it is not clear that he could never, on a special occasion, have baptized a Gentile and his family, particularly one who had previously been known as of those who revered the God of Israel and sought to follow the moral and spiritual ideals taught in the synagogue. In Antioch, Peter went so far at first as to have table companionship with the Gentile Christians, although he later withdrew from this very un-Jewish conduct, when the question had been made an issue by certain rigid Jerusalem disciples who came to Antioch.⁶ It is thoroughly possible that he may on the one occasion years before, under what was counted a special instance of the guidance of the Spirit, have eaten in Cornelius's house. The narrative in Acts does not clearly state that he went to this length on that occasion; it merely says that he was accused of having done so, and bigoted men often go beyond the facts in their accusations based upon suspicion.

There is ground for the feeling, as already noted in the account of the establishment of Christianity at Samaria, that Luke has an exaggerated idea of the necessity of

⁵ Gal. ii. 7-8.

⁶ Gal. ii. 11-12.

Jerusalem oversight of the great steps of progress in the spread of the Church, an oversight which his own narrative shows was not at all essential to that progress. It is possible also that he may have entertained hope of unifying the Jerusalem and Pauline churches, even as late as the time of writing the Book of the Acts. This hope may have been influential in leading him to emphasize so strongly the account of the great apostle to the Jews receiving Gentile converts and the sanction of the act in Jerusalem. All these considerations, however, together with whatever improbability of detail may be found in the narrative, do not seem sufficient to disprove the essential truth of the account of Cornelius's conversion and reception into the Christian fellowship by Peter. Whether it was really a pioneer step as Luke conceives it, or whether Saul had won Gentile converts before ever Peter visited Cæsarea, the records do not enable us to say.

The next great advance which Acts records is the founding of the Church at Antioch, the capital of Syria and the third city of the Roman world. In introducing this significant event, Luke goes back to the scattering upon the tribulation that arose about Stephen. Some of those driven out from Jerusalem, he says, traveled as far as Phœnicia, and Cyprus, and Antioch; though he declares that their mission was to Jews alone. Then he makes an exception; some of them, Cyprian and Cyrenian Jews, coming to Antioch, preached to Gentiles with great success. Again Luke represents the Jerusalem Church as following up this spontaneous spread by an attempt at some ecclesiastical oversight. In this case, however, there is no mention of the coming of any member of the Twelve or of a manifest outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as in the case of Samaria, Barnabas is the emissary sent forth as far as Antioch, some three hundred miles north of Jerusalem.

Joseph was the proper name of this early disciple, a

Cypriote Jew of Levitical descent whom the Apostles sur-named Barnabas, son of exhortation. Luke introduced him in the early narrative as an example of the generosity characteristic of the early Church and as a foil to Ananias and Sapphira.

On Saul's return to Jerusalem three years after his conversion, it was Barnabas who, according to Acts, introduced him to the Church there and vouched for him. We may well believe, in the light of their later relations, that Barnabas and Saul had fellowship at this time and that very possibly he introduced Saul to Peter and James. Perhaps this man of Cyprus labored in the neighboring regions of Syria or Cilicia during the long period of Saul's sojourn in those districts, and they may then have been associates. We can only conjecture as to Barnabas's whereabouts during all the period intervening between Saul's visit to Jerusalem, on his return from Damascus, and the time when he came from Jerusalem.

After preaching for a time in Antioch with much success, Barnabas went over to Tarsus to look for Saul and, when he had found him, brought him to Antioch where they labored together for an entire year. The number of converts grew so large that the people of Antioch invented a name for them—Christians. The followers of Jesus were themselves very slow to adopt this new name; it appears only three times in the entire New Testament. They preferred to style their fellow believers as "disciples," or "brethren," or "the saints" (holy ones). It is impossible to suppose that Jews would have given the name of Christians, if we recall that "Christ" was the Greek for the Hebrew "Messiah," so it is properly inferred that it must have been the Gentiles of Antioch who thus named the followers of Jesus.

At this point in his narrative, Luke introduces the account of a famine in Jerusalem which led to the sending of

Barnabas and Saul with relief, contributed by the Antioch Christians for their brethren in Jerusalem. Between the statements as to their going up to Jerusalem and their return to Antioch, he includes the account of Agrippa's persecution already considered. This would seem to date the famine visit about 44 A.D., but extra-Biblical sources favor a somewhat later date for the famine. It is indeed highly probable that the famine visit and the visit of Barnabas and Paul recorded in Acts xv are to be identified as one. On this basis we pass directly from the year of the associated ministry of Barnabas and Saul in Antioch to the events leading up to their mission to Cyprus and Galatia, without recognizing any intervening visit to Jerusalem.

A difficulty in this reconstruction of the history may be found in the fact that John Mark accompanied the missionaries to Cyprus and that we have no knowledge of his coming to Antioch, unless, as Acts says, they brought him back with them from the famine visit. This difficulty does not, however, outweigh the far greater one of inserting the famine visit between the first and second visits named in Galatians, where the whole point of Paul's argument was to indicate his independence of Jerusalem, and he could not possibly have omitted mention of such an official visit as that with the famine relief.⁷

The growing Church in Antioch was well supplied with representatives of the two important groups of natural leaders among the early Christians, prophets and teachers. Besides Barnabas and Saul, there are named Symeon, called Black, Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, known as the foster-brother of Herod Antipas. As the Antioch Christians were engaged in religious devotions designed to bring them into an attitude of spiritual receptivity, they felt called by the Holy Spirit to select Barnabas and Saul

for a special commission. Barnabas, we have seen, had been sent to Antioch by the Church in Jerusalem and had proved an efficient evangelist in the great city, and also one who knew how to secure an associate even abler than himself. He and Saul, like the prophet Jeremiah,⁸ were clearly marked out from the first for special and peculiar service. They must not be kept in Antioch where the Church now seemed strong enough to go forward without them.

So they were sent forth to the westward. How their particular destination was determined is not difficult to infer. Barnabas was a Cypriote Jew; men of Cyprus and Cyrene had brought the Gospel to Antioch; so far as we know, Barnabas had not visited his native island since he became a Christian some fifteen years before. Saul, on the other hand, had apparently lived and labored in his boyhood home and the neighboring districts for a number of years just preceding the invitation that took him to Antioch.⁹ It was not unnatural then that the regions of Barnabas's birth should be the first object of the joint mission, thus a return of the blessings that had come from Cyprus might be made, and a service such as Saul had already offered in northern Syria and Cilicia might be rendered in districts familiar to Barnabas.

Whatever the determining motives, the great island of Cyprus was the scene of the beginning of the formal missionary effort undertaken by the Church in the city where the disciples were first called Christians. A few hours overland brought the travelers to Seleucia, the port of Antioch, whence it was a voyage of about a hundred and twenty-five miles to Salamis, the principal port of the island. The name, the same as that of the island and town near Athens, proclaims the origin of the town as a Greek colony. Indeed, the situation of Cyprus made it

⁸ Jer. i. 5.

⁹ Gal. i. 21, ii. 1.

one of the islands where Phœnician and Greek communities early crowded one another. Since the beginning of the third century B.C., Cyprus had formed a part of the possessions of the Ptolemies of Egypt, until its annexation by Rome, some five years after Pompey took possession of Palestine. It had been now for fully a hundred years under Roman rule. Undoubtedly many thousands of Jews had found settlement in the various cities of the island before the visit of Barnabas and Saul; seventy years later, the Jews were so numerous that they were able to undertake a revolt in which they are said to have destroyed no fewer than two hundred and forty thousand of the other inhabitants. It is not surprising to read in Acts of the synagogues of the Jews in Salamis, where Barnabas and Saul found opportunity to proclaim the word of God.

Of the immediate success of their mission in Salamis or in the other towns which they traversed in the hundred miles thence to Paphos, at the western end of the island, our New Testament sources give us no knowledge, but Christianity must have obtained a firm foothold at an early date in the island where later thirteen bishoprics were established. With his gift for selecting dramatic and significant scenes, the writer of Acts carries us quickly to Paphos, where Barnabas and Saul were invited before the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, "a man of understanding," who sought to hear the word of God. Here, in the notable encounter with Elymas, a sorcerer,¹⁰ Saul suddenly stands forth in his burning zeal and power. Henceforth, under his Gentile name of Paul, he is represented as the real leader of the mission. The resultant belief of the proconsul must have been a great encouragement to the missionaries, who a little later, took ship for the coast of Asia Minor.

Aiming at a point probably farther west than Paul's

¹⁰ Acts xiii. 6-12.

previous ministry had reached, they landed at Perga, famous for its temple of Artemis. Here their attendant John Mark left them, to return to Jerusalem. The reason for this act is not clear. Paul regarded it as a base and cowardly withdrawal from the work in hand.¹¹ It has often been conjectured that Mark justified himself on the ground that the mission was being extended beyond the regions originally contemplated. Ramsay has inferred that the Pamphilian coast plain was the intended scene of missionary activity, but that an attack of malaria forced Paul and his company to seek the lofty table land of the interior.¹² If this is the case, it is to be hoped that Mark's withdrawal antedated the illness and that he did not desert the leader when his services were most needed.

Acts records no ministry in Pamphilia at this time, but takes the travelers directly inland to Antioch of Pisidia, one of the sixteen Greek towns owing its foundation to Seleucus I, Nicator, and named for his father Antiochus. It was a far less important and famous city than the Syrian Antioch from which the Christian missionaries had set forth. Built as a bulwark against the Pisidian mountain tribes and colonized with Greeks from Magnesia, it became a place of some importance.¹³ Before the opening of the Christian era it had been made a Roman colony and had thus been placed in the highest class of provincial cities.

Here again the countrymen of Paul and Barnabas were settled in such numbers that the visitors were able to attend the Sabbath gathering at a synagogue and find opportunity for public speech. The scene recalls vividly the

¹¹ Acts xv. 37-39.

¹² Sir William M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, pp. 89-97.

¹³ Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul*, p. 253; Robinson, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Oct.-Dec., 1924, pp. 435 ff.

Sabbath morning at Nazareth, when the custom of the synagogue gave Jesus opportunity to address his townsfolk after the reading of the selection from the prophets.

The presence of the strangers with the message that the promise to the fathers had been fulfilled and that, of the seed of David, one had been attested by resurrection from the dead as the Holy One of God, roused much stir in the city. After the meeting, Jews and proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas eager to hear them more fully, and, on the next Sabbath, the synagogue was crowded with a great concourse, not only of Jews but also of the Gentile population, many of whom were won as converts by Paul and Barnabas. But those who did not believe stirred up a persecution by rousing the Gentile women of influence who had attached themselves more or less closely to the synagogue, but were not ready to go on to the Christian faith; besides these they stirred up also the chief men of the city.

Following the injunction that Jesus gave his Disciples when he sent them forth to preach in Palestine, Paul and Barnabas shook the dust off their feet as a token of rejection and turned southward toward Iconium. They left behind, however, a company rejoicing with spiritual exaltation.

At this point we are met by one of the mooted questions of New Testament history. Did this company of believers in Pisidian Antioch constitute the first of the Galatian churches to which Paul later wrote one of the most significant of his epistles? Antioch, Iconium, and the two cities which Paul next visited, Derbe and Lystra, were not in the original district of Galatia, but they were all included within the larger territory of the Roman province of Galatia. The Book of the Acts does not use the name Galatia in connection with the journey whose course

we are now following. When Paul set forth on his next missionary tour, proposing to visit the brethren in every city wherein he and Barnabas had proclaimed the word, he came to Derbe and Lystra, and went on his way through the cities, and went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, and came over against Mysia, and so to Troas.¹⁴

In the past, Galatia, in this passage, has usually been interpreted as referring to the original district of Galatia, lying wholly beyond the scenes of the "first missionary journey." On this understanding, it has been customary on maps of Paul's missionary journeys to represent Asia Minor as divided into its native districts and to draw the line representing Paul's "second journey" northward to Pessinus and Ancyra, indicating that he went up to these remote towns and back again to Pisidian Antioch before he proceeded past Mysia to Troas. Since the publication of Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, New Testament maps have commonly come to indicate the division of Asia Minor into its Roman provinces, with the cities of the first missionary journey within the boundaries of Galatia and the supposed northern journey into the original Galatia omitted.

The arguments that have led most recent students to adopt the view that the churches of Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra are really the Galatian churches to which the epistle was sent, seem very convincing, although some recent writers of weight still hold to the north Galatian theory. Briefly, some of the main points of the contention are:

(1) It was Paul's uniform custom to use the names of the Roman provinces and not of the older geographical districts, while the writer of Acts often uses the geographical terms and might speak of going through Phrygia and Galatia, meaning the southern part of the Galatian province

¹⁴ Acts xv. 36-xvi. 8.

within whose boundaries a portion of ancient Phrygia was included.

(2) In the Epistle to the Galatians, the reference to Barnabas by name¹⁵ suggests that the Galatians were acquainted with him. If those addressed in the epistle were residents of North Galatia, Barnabas had never visited them.

(3) In I Corinthians xvi.1ff., we learn that Galatia had a part in the great collection which Paul was taking up to Jerusalem at the close of his third journey, but among the local representatives who accompanied him to look after the contribution, no North Galatian is mentioned, although Macedonia, Asia, and South Galatia are all represented in the company.

(4) The statement in Galatians that Paul took the position he did in the discussion at Jerusalem that the truth of the Gospel might continue with the Galatians, is accurate and intelligible only on the understanding that he had already established Christianity in Galatia. If the Galatian churches were not those established in the first journey, Paul had not yet visited Galatia at the time of this discussion at Jerusalem, nor would it appear that he was intending to do so, since he writes that his first preaching to them was not intentional but because of an infirmity of the flesh.

(5) This "infirmity of the flesh" seems strange as a ground for visiting North Galatia, a rough and barren region where travel would be difficult and hardships excessive. It is, however, a very possible explanation of leaving the low and malarial coast plain and moving up to Antioch of Pisidia on the salubrious plateau, four thousand feet above sea level.

Even if the narrative in Acts xvi and xviii implies that Paul passed through northern Galatia on his second and

¹⁵ ii. 13.

third missionary journeys, there is still probability that his letter was addressed to the churches in south Galatia which he and Barnabas had founded on the journey now under review,¹⁶ and we may accordingly use the epistle as giving us information concerning these churches.

Turning southeastward from Pisidian Antioch along the great highway toward the Cilician Gates, Paul and Barnabas came next to Iconium, which is mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis* as on the route of Cyrus the Younger. This was the most important city of the region, as it is today, under its modern name of Konieh. Here the missionaries made a considerable stay, winning many converts of Jews and Gentiles; but the Jews who were unconvinced won many Gentiles in opposition and planned to attack the preachers with stoning. Then fleeing further toward the southeast, the two came to the towns of Lystra and Derbe. These do not appear to have been places of great importance in antiquity and are not the sites of modern towns; their fame rests upon the fact that they were visited by Paul once and again.

At Lystra the healing by Paul of a man impotent in his feet aroused the superstitious faith of the people who, thinking that the gods had come down to them in the likeness of men, styled Barnabas Zeus, and Paul Hermes, because he was the chief speaker. It was with difficulty that the missionaries restrained the local priest and the people from offering sacrifices to them, averring themselves to be merely human beings, evangelists of the living God, the creator who had given witness of his beneficence in rains and fruitful seasons. With quick revulsion of feeling the inhabitants of the little town were ready to listen to enemies who came from Antioch and Iconium, and they stoned Paul until they supposed him dead. He, however,

¹⁶ See Allen and Grensted, *Introduction to the Books of the New Testament*, p. 134.

when he had been dragged out of the city, recovered consciousness and boldly walked into the town, whence he went forth the next day with Barnabas to Derbe. There, many disciples were won and the stay may have been somewhat prolonged; there is no record that the missionaries were forced to leave the place prematurely by any outbreak of hostility.

Paul and Barnabas had now traveled by sea and land nearly seven hundred miles since they set forth from Antioch. In their circuit they had come around so that they were only about two hundred miles from their starting point. Traveling along the main highway through Cilicia and Syria, they might easily have returned to Antioch, with encouraging reports of accomplishment in Cyprus and Galatia. Instead they turned back upon their tracks to confirm the souls of the disciples in the cities of Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch. From this Antioch they had been driven out; in Iconium they had escaped deadly onset only by flight; in Lystra Paul had been stoned almost to death. It has been well suggested that the time of the year had brought new magistrates into office so that the revisiting was made possible. Even so they could appropriately remind the disciples in these communities that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God, as they exhorted them to continue in the faith.

Thus they established the new churches, and subsequent events showed that the converts were sorely in need of all the instructions that Paul and Barnabas could give them on this second visitation. Passing through Pisidia, they came again to Perga of Pamphilia whence they had climbed the Taurus to the central plateau, months before. After preaching in Perga, they went down to the port of Atalia and sailed for Antioch. When they reached the church which had sent them forth, they reported upon their mis-

sion, recounting how God had opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles.

The church in Pisidian Antioch has been denominated the first thoroughly Gentile congregation separate from the synagogue. In writing to the Galatian churches Paul speaks of their former state, when knowing not God, they were in bondage to them that by nature were no gods, and emphasizes his commission to preach Christ among the Gentiles. It was in these first purely Gentile churches that the great issue was to be met and settled by Paul as to whether Christianity was to be a developed Judaism, carrying with it as essentials the rites and prescriptions that had grown up in the long centuries of the Hebrew religion, or whether it was to be a religion free from these, capable of winning its way among nations and races, unencumbered by the ritual requirements of the Jewish law.

CHAPTER V

THE APOSTOLIC COUNCIL AND ITS SEQUEL AT ANTIOCH—ABOUT 47 A. D.

The Book of the Acts places the so-called "Apostolic Council at Jerusalem" after the return of Paul and Barnabas to Antioch. The occasion of the council, according to the account in Acts, was a visit to Antioch by men from Judæa who insisted that Gentile Christians must submit to the Jewish initiatory rite of circumcision, if they hoped to be saved. This teaching was stoutly opposed by Paul and Barnabas, who were finally appointed with certain others to go to the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem in regard to the matter. Passing through Phœnicia and Samaria *en route* they rehearsed to the Christians in those districts how the Gentiles had become converted, news that was received with great joy. When, however, they told the same glorious story to the Jerusalem Church, there proved to be there members who had brought over from Judaism the rigid standards of the Pharisees and insisted that converts must adopt the Jewish mark of circumcision and adhere strictly to the Mosaic law. Now the Apostles and Elders came together to take council on the matter.

Peter argued that they themselves were not able to bear the yoke of the law and that only through the grace of the Lord Jesus could any be saved. Paul and Barnabas told of the wondrous way in which God had attested their work among the Gentiles. Then James, the Lord's brother, who, as we have seen, was now the recognized head of the

Jerusalem Church, summed up the matter and gave judgment that they should not require the Gentile converts to adopt the rite of circumcision, but that they should enjoin them to abstain from the pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from what is strangled, and from blood.

The first two of these prohibitions are clearly vital and unchanging elements in both Judaism and Christianity. Ethical monotheism is the great gift of Judaism to the world. Loyalty to his monotheistic religion made it impossible for the Jew to share in the religious festivals of Greek or Roman rulers, or to acknowledge the right of any foreign overlord to require recognition of his deities as a mark of political loyalty.

The terrible crisis under Antiochus Epiphanes, who sought to enforce cultural unity in his kingdom, brought this fact into clearest light. The attempts of Roman emperors to enforce divine honors to their own images as symbols of the unity of the Empire, brought the awful crisis for Jew and Christian under Caligula, a few years before the Jerusalem council, and again, more than forty years afterward, led to the great persecution of the Christians under Domitian. When Paul founded a Gentile Church in Corinth, the general custom of sanctifying slaughtered animals to the heathen deities raised a difficult problem for the Christian believer lest, in buying meat in the public market or in eating it at a friend's table, he might be understood to acknowledge the god to which the creature had been consecrated. Clearly, to abstain from the pollutions of idols is fundamental on the distinctly religious side of any monotheistic faith in a polytheistic society.

It was also vital for the moral life of Judaism and Christianity; both in the Semitic world and the Græco-Roman world, religious festivities were often occasions for debasing license. The moral quality of the Jewish

religion had drawn many devout persons of pure aspiration into connection with the Jewish synagogues, scattered throughout the Roman world. Here religion was fostered by instruction from the Law and Prophets, and by prayer and psalm. Even the more joyous of the religious festivals of Judaism were in sharp moral contrast to those of other religions.

In no aspect of the moral life did Judaism stand more distinctly apart from the Græco-Roman world than in its insistence on the purity of the relations between men and women. Many nominal Jews may have fallen far short of the standard demanded by the Law and Prophets, but Jewish life never could have furnished the satirist material for such nauseating pictures as those which Juvenal painted of Roman society in the first century A.D. To abstain from fornication was surely one of the most important moral injunctions that the Jerusalem Church could place upon those Gentiles who would enter the Christian fellowship.

The decree goes on to prohibit eating what is strangled, and blood. As a matter of fact the Christian Church has refused to accept this prohibition as a vital and unchanging element in religion. The Church has counted the Old Testament prohibition of eating the flesh with the blood as a ritual matter of no universal value or validity; it has discarded this along with circumcision and a multitude of other ritual requirements of Judaism. It needs no great familiarity with Church history or with the religious life of today to enable one to realize how common is the commingling of inherited ritual practice with vital religious and ethical matters as equal in importance.

It is not difficult to believe, therefore, that the early Church in Jerusalem may have failed to discriminate, and that in trying to be broad and generous to the Gentile converts and to impose upon them only such requirements as were absolutely necessary, it might have waived circum-

cision only to substitute an equally unimportant rite. It is, however, extremely difficult to believe that Paul accepted any such solution of the matter.

The view is adopted by some that the original text of Acts did not contain the proscription of "that which is strangled" and that the word "blood" can be understood as "homicide," so that all the prohibitions concern matters of universal and vital importance to the religious and moral life of the Christians—idolatry, fornication, homicide. Such omission occurs in the Bezan text of the New Testament and in the writings of some of the Church Fathers, but even if that reading were accepted as the original one, the interpretation of "blood" as murder would still be improbable.

The narrative of Acts adds that after James had spoken, the Apostles and Elders and the whole Church were of one accord and sent a letter to the Gentile Christians of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, containing the prohibitions proposed by James. They sent also with Paul and Barnabas two of their company who were prophets, Judas and Silas, who not only delivered the letter but also preached and confirmed the brethren and, after some time, returned to Jerusalem, while Paul and Barnabas continued teaching and preaching in Antioch.

In his epistle to the Galatians, Paul gives an account of a conference at Jerusalem where this same question of compulsory circumcision for Gentile converts was at issue. The acknowledged leaders of the Jerusalem Church, James, Peter, and John, fully recognized Paul's apostleship to the Gentiles and imparted nothing to him, save that he should remember the poor (presumably those of the Judæan Church), which he was himself zealous to do. In this letter, Paul is arguing against circumcision for Gentile converts. He is maintaining the independence of his apostleship to the Gentiles as directly inspired by

God, without the mediation of the Jerusalem Church and its leaders; they recognized and approved the Gentile mission in which he was already engaged, but he was not dependent upon them for authority.

A comparison of this autobiographical narrative in the second chapter of Galatians with the account of the Apostolic Council in the fifteenth chapter of Acts raises puzzling questions for the historian. It has been very commonly understood that the visit to Jerusalem described in Galatians is to be identified with that recounted in the closing verses of the eleventh and of the twelfth chapter of Acts, the famine visit. If that is the correct interpretation, when Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem to carry relief to the stricken community the presence of Titus with them raised the question of circumcision for Gentile converts, and the pillar Apostles approved Paul's mission to the Gentiles without this requirement. Then, after the first missionary journey had intervened, men came down from Judæa to Antioch and raised once more the question Paul had supposed settled, and the Jerusalem Council followed.

If the foregoing is the true order of events, it would seem that Galatians must have been written at the time when Paul and Barnabas were in Antioch after their return from Asia Minor and before the Council of Acts xv, otherwise Paul could not have said that the leaders of the Jerusalem Church imparted nothing to him, only to remember the poor; they had imparted to him the decrees against things sacrificed to idols, blood, things strangled, and fornication, and, according to the statement in Acts xvi. 4, on his second journey through Asia Minor, Paul delivered the decrees of the Apostles and Elders that were at Jerusalem. That he should have done this after he had written the Epistle to the Galatians is very difficult to believe. The decrees would falsify the very claim that he had made

of his independence as an Apostle and, although they would support his contention that the Gentiles need not be circumcised, they would impose upon them another ritual requirement, whereas the whole tenor of his argument had been that salvation was by faith and not by works of the law.

Most critics place the writing of Galatians after the Council of Acts xv, at least as late as during the second missionary journey, or, on the north Galatian theory, as late as the third journey. If that is the true order of events, Paul had already delivered the decrees before writing the epistle, yet he makes no mention of them as giving the unanimous support of the Jerusalem Church to the great contention of the epistle that circumcision is unnecessary; and furthermore, in his claim of independence from Jerusalem authority, he tells of two visits to Jerusalem, on neither of which he was subject to apostolic authority, and omits the fact that on the visit recounted in Acts xv, decrees were adopted which he delivered to the churches. If Paul wrote to the Galatians in the way he did after he had received the decrees, he would seem to be both dishonest and stupid, for the disagreement of his letter with facts would be obvious.

In justice to Paul's statements in Galatians and his general principles of conduct, it is exceedingly difficult to believe that such a decree as that given in Acts xv could have been promulgated with his knowledge and consent. On the whole, it seems probable that the Apostolic Council of Acts xv is to be identified with the conference which Paul speaks of in Galatians ii, and that it had no such formal outcome in a decree as Acts supposes. Perhaps Luke in his researches found this summary of prohibitions for Gentile converts, which had been formulated at some time or other, and supposed that it was the outcome of the conference which, as he knew, Paul had had at Jerusalem.

Whether Paul's famine visit of Acts xi and xii took place at a date earlier than the circumcision conference, as Acts places it, is an open question. If such a visit did intervene between Paul's visit to Jerusalem three years after his conversion and the conference held years later, Paul ought to have mentioned it in enumerating his contacts with the leaders of the Jerusalem Church. As indicated in the previous chapter, the most probable solution of the difficulty is that which identifies the visits to Jerusalem of Acts xi and xii, Acts xv, and Galatians ii as one and the same. In Acts xv and Galatians ii, the legitimacy of Gentile Christianity without circumcision is recognized. In Acts xi and Galatians, Paul goes up as the result of revelation. It seems probable, therefore, that following Paul's conversion and before his second missionary journey, he made two and only two visits to Jerusalem, the one three years after his conversion, following his sojourn in Arabia and Damascus, the other either eleven or fourteen years later,¹ after the return from his first missionary journey; and that on his second visit, he and Barnabas went up to carry the famine relief, having the uncircumcised Greek Christian, Titus, with them.

Some Jerusalem Christians were horrified at a Gentile entering into the Messianic fellowship without receiving the mark of the chosen people. The matter was discussed, and James, Peter, and John agreed in approving Paul's mission to the Gentiles along the lines which he was already following, while it was tacitly assumed that Jewish Christians would continue to live as Jews. Such seems to be the kernel of fact which we may properly extract from the narratives of Acts xi, xii, and xv and Galatians

¹It is impossible to determine with certainty in Paul's statement: "Then after the space of fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem" (Gal. ii. 1), whether he is reckoning the fourteen years from the time of his conversion or from the three-year visit.

i and ii, remembering that in Galatians we have the first-hand testimony of a principal participant in the events, while in this part of Acts the author is dependent upon the testimony of others, oral or written.

The only reasonable alternative to this general conclusion seems to be that Paul wrote Galatians before the events recorded in Acts xv and that the famine visit of Acts xi and xii and the second visit of Galatians are alone to be identified, while Acts xv records a later occasion when the Gentile mission was again brought under criticism at Jerusalem. But even this interpretation leads into almost inextricable complications. In the midst of all the historical problems, the vital fact is clear that, while the other Apostles were still living in the midst of Jewish life and limitations, they recognized the Divine leading in the work of Paul and Barnabas among the Gentiles and were ready to acknowledge them as fellow workers, only in a different field from their own.

A little later, the question was to appear in another aspect which was to result in a sharp difference of opinion between Paul and Peter. After the return of Paul and Barnabas from Jerusalem to Antioch, matters were going on smoothly in the association of Jewish and Gentile Christians in that cosmopolitan church. Peter paid them a visit and entered into free association with the Gentile members, not even refusing table companionship; this was perhaps the most difficult test for one who had been trained as a faithful Jew. We may recall Jesus' allusion to the scrupulous care of the Pharisees in performing their ceremonial ablutions before eating, lest in the necessary contacts of life they had touched something or someone that rendered them ceremonially unclean. To eat with Gentiles would be to assure pollution. This Peter may not have done in Cornelius's house, but in the fine fellowship of the Antioch Church, he did not hesitate to do so.

Then others came from Jerusalem, perhaps appointed on some mission by the recognized head of the Church there; Paul says, they came down from James. Whether they had any authorization from him to protest against table fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians is not indicated, but at any rate, Peter now felt that he had gone too far in his acquiescence in the broad practices of the Antioch brethren. Paul says: He drew back and separated himself, fearing them that were of the circumcision.² Peter's example was followed by the other Jewish members of the congregation, and "even Barnabas was carried away by their dissimulation."

The beautiful fellowship of the Antioch Church, which had proved its broad sympathies and large outlook by sending Paul and Barnabas forth on their epochal mission, was likely to be destroyed. Peter could feel that Gentiles might be saved without adopting the Jewish ceremonial practices, but to have full table companionship with them, now that protest had been entered by those who came down from James—that would not do any longer. Peter had not outgrown all the characteristics which had marked him during the ministry of Jesus. Warm-hearted, enthusiastic, he had entered freely into the broad associations of Antioch, but Jerusalem called him back. Paul ascribed his attitude to fear; if that was the cause of his action, it was not the first or second time that Peter had failed through fear.

Paul realized the crisis: better to offend the Jerusalem Christians than to try to maintain a fellowship that perpetuated the Jewish ritual wall of separation. To him it was not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel to do that. Not even Barnabas could see what this dissembling course meant. Paul stood alone! Then and there, withstanding Peter to the face before them all, he

² Gal. ii. 12.

set forth the essential truth of Christian salvation—justification by faith rather than by the works of the law.

The scene is a startling one when we realize its elements. On the one hand stood the close companion of Jesus throughout his earthly ministry, the disciple who had been the first to acknowledge his Messiahship, the one whom Paul knew to have been the first of the Twelve to have been given a vision of the risen Lord, the one whose preaching on the day of Pentecost had been followed by the winning of a multitude of converts. With this rock Apostle was, apparently, the authority of James the Lord's brother, now recognized as the head of the Church in Jerusalem; and with him stood the Jewish members of the Antioch Church as a whole, and even Barnabas, who had brought Paul a stranger to Antioch and introduced him there.

On the other side stood Paul alone, the champion of the Gentile members of the Church, who were now declared unfit to eat with their fellow-Christians of Jewish descent and training. Few moments in history have been more vibrant with possibility, beneficent or malevolent, and Paul stood alone, claiming to know more than James and Peter and all those who had lived and walked with Jesus, while he had only a vision on the road to Damascus, whither he was going as the avowed enemy of Christ, only a vision to one born out of due season, on which to rest his claim to apostleship.

Yet Paul is the accuser: When I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Cephas before all, "If thou, being a Jew, livest as do the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, how compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews? We being Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles, yet knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the

works of the law: because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified. . . . I through the law died unto the law that I might live unto God. I have been crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me: and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, which is in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.”³

In those burning words of one whose authority was that of the soul that secs, we have the Magna Charta of the Christian Church, as it was to go forth to win the Roman Empire and the world. Paul will, especially in the latter part of this same Epistle to the Galatians and in the more elaborate discussion of Romans, set forth his doctrine of salvation by faith with detailed argument. At this point he is giving only a summary of what he said in Antioch when the crisis had to be met on the instant; yet that brief statement contains the essence of the matter and also serves to illustrate how Paul's great truths grew directly out of his supreme experience. The ambitious young student of the law, who had excelled many of his own age both in his studies and in his achievement as an active and trusted agent in the execution of the law, had passed through an experience, coming to its culmination on the road to Damascus, that had been to him an experience of death and rebirth—I through the law died unto the law that I might live unto God. The old ambitions and hopes had perished; the old associations had been severed more tragically than by death. Instead of a career of honor and esteem among his own people, he had turned to face scorn and persecution from Jew and Greek—I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me. One who has passed through such an experience, an experience of a different sort from any that a Peter or a James could fully know or comprehend, knows

³ Gal. ii. 14-16, 19-20.

the stark truth of the ultimate reality of life and can stand alone.

If there had not been a Paul to see and dare, the Christian Church would have been no more than a sect of Judaism, which would scarcely have survived these nineteen hundred years, and would certainly not have won its way among the many nations of the earth. For Gentiles to adopt the Jewish initiatory rites meant not simply adoption of foreign customs; it meant identifying themselves with the Jewish nation, for Judaism was not simply a religion. Christianity under such limitations could never have gone forth as a world-winning, universal religion. And Paul stood alone, the only man who saw the truth.

CHAPTER VI

FOUNDING OF CHURCHES IN MACEDONIA AND ACHAIA—48 TO 51 A.D.

We have no record of the immediate result of the discussion in Antioch and cannot tell whether table companionship between the Jewish and Gentile members of the community was renewed or not. Probably it was after these events that Paul proposed to Barnabas that they should visit the brethren in every city wherein they had proclaimed the word of the Lord, and see how they fared. The difference between them was evidently not such that Paul felt himself and Barnabas unable to share in the oversight of their converts. But now a decisive obstacle appeared. Barnabas wished to take along again his nephew, John Mark, but Paul felt that they could not have with them one who had deserted them on the previous mission. The contention was so sharp that they finally divided the territory of their earlier mission, Barnabas going to Cyprus, and Paul striking up overland through his old Syrian and Cilician provinces to the South Galatian churches of Derbe and Lystra.

With this separation, Barnabas disappears from the authentic records of the age, except for one slight allusion in Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, which would seem to imply that his name at least was known at Corinth. The little that we know of this "son of exhortation" suggests a very attractive personality. This is true from his first appearance in the early days of the Jerusalem Church

as one who sold a field and voluntarily contributed the proceeds, to our last view of him, when he disappears from the history through his determination to give another chance to one who had failed. Of Mark we shall hear more later, and what we hear will show that Barnabas was right in trusting him as he did.

Barnabas, eloquent, gentle, broad in his sympathies, able to see and appreciate the good in a Paul and a Mark, and generously eager to secure the service of each for the Church, was yet destined to play a limited part, less directly influential upon future centuries than the Apostle whom he introduced at Jerusalem and Antioch, or the Evangelist in whom he still believed after failure.

Barnabas went far with Paul, but was not able to see with him the true nature of the issue at Antioch. Limited by the defect of his kindly virtue, he was ready to make fatal compromise. Now, when he and Paul are about to start forth on the new mission, Barnabas is true to his best self in his insistence that Mark must be trusted again; and Paul is right in his equal insistence that one who withdrew from them from Pamphilia and went not with them to the work, should not have the opportunity to accompany them on this new mission.

Perhaps, one wonders, Paul is already thinking of extending the journey far beyond the cities they had visited before. Perhaps Barnabas is thinking only of revisiting the now familiar scenes and is sure that Mark can be trusted to go thus far with them. Whether or not Paul is already looking toward regions beyond Pisidian Antioch, he holds himself ever open to follow the leading of the Spirit and will be as ready to go on across the Ægean into Macedonia and Greece itself as he was to go on from Pamphilia to Galatia. Whether Mark would as yet have been ready for such adventure is much to be doubted.

Natures such as those of Barnabas and Paul could go

far together; but the parting must eventually come, if each was to be true to himself and his vision of duty. Such partings are at once sad and noble. They need not leave bitterness. Paul's allusions in Galatians and Corinthians suggest that there was no bitterness in his heart toward Barnabas and we cannot imagine that there was with the gentle, generous Barnabas.

Paul chose as his companion Silas, presumably the same Silas who as a chief man among the brethren is named in Acts xv as one of those sent from Jerusalem to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas after the conference concerning circumcision. Though he had come to Antioch as a trusted representative of the Jerusalem Church, we infer that Silas was now in sympathy with Paul's attitude toward Gentile Christians.

Together they passed through Syria and Cilicia confirming the churches. What churches? Those founded during the unrecorded years of Paul's life in Syria and Cilicia following his return to Jerusalem from Damascus? Perhaps so; we have had no account of the establishment of churches in these regions. Then they came to Derbe and Lystra. Here Paul selected as an additional companion one of the young men of the Church who was favorably known among the Christians in his own home and the neighboring Iconium. The young man was in himself a union of Jew and Greek, a type of what Paul desired the Church to be.

Paul now took a step which has caused much perplexity to many students of his life and character. He circumcised Timothy "because of the Jews who were in those parts, for they all knew that his father was a Greek." So Luke explains Paul's action. At Jerusalem itself, Paul had not been compelled to circumcise his companion Titus, though he was a Greek Christian. At Antioch he had stood out alone against Peter and the other Jewish Chris-

tians who would refuse full fellowship to uncircumcised converts. Has Paul given up the struggle and decided to compromise for the sake of an ignoble peace?

One or two considerations may help to an understanding of his action. Paul never opposed the circumcision of the children of Jewish parents. All that he insisted upon was that none of these ceremonies constituted the ground of Christian faith and that they must not be enforced upon Gentile converts to Christianity, nor made the basis of any real distinction within the Christian fellowship. Since Timothy's mother was a Jewess, Paul might have given some real basis for the charge that he was teaching Jews to apostatize if he made him an associate while he was uncircumcised. We shall see as we follow Paul through the intricate social problems that arose in his various churches, that he did not make sincerity and consistency an excuse for causing needless misunderstanding and criticism. Where offence could be avoided, he strove to avoid it, and so consistently counseled his converts.

Where the issue of principle had been clearly drawn, he would not yield a hair's breadth. Had all the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem attempted to enforce circumcision upon Timothy, we may well believe that Paul would not have assented for an instant. Had Timothy been born a pure-blooded Greek, we cannot imagine that Paul would have performed the Jewish rite upon him; he was not making Jewish proselytes. Timothy was not obliged to join Paul on his difficult and hazardous mission. Paul desired him as an associate; Timothy desired to go, and as the son of a Jewish woman was willing to submit to the custom of his maternal ancestors.

It is at this point in the second journey that Luke introduces the statement that, as they went on through the cities, they delivered them the decrees to keep, which had been ordained of the Apostles and Elders that were at

Jerusalem. Luke apparently feels that immediately after the story of Timothy's circumcision is an appropriate time to call attention to the fact that circumcision for Gentile converts was not insisted upon by the Jerusalem Church.

Having mentioned Lystra, Derbe, and Iconium, in order from east to west, and having spoken of their way through the cities, Luke adds that they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia; and when they were come over against Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia; and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not; and passing by Mysia, they came down to Troas.¹ In Chapter IV, the question was discussed as to whether this means that Paul and his companions turned northward into the original geographic district of Galatia or whether the name here refers to the region through which they were traveling as they passed through Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and on to the west. It may be admitted that the words: having been forbidden of the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia, suggest the probability that Paul and his companions now turned northward into the comparatively rough and sparsely settled regions of northern Galatia. As we have seen, however, this does not necessarily imply that Paul's letter to the Galatians was written with the northern parts of the province in view. We have no information that he founded any churches there, and the people of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch were residents of what was in Paul's time the Roman province of Galatia. Immediately to their west lay the province of Asia, where Paul was, in some way, forbidden to preach at this time.

Whether Paul and his companions traveled northward in the western part of Galatia or in the eastern part of the province of Asia, they came over against the district of

¹ Acts xvi. 6-8.

Mysia and attempted to go into Bithynia; but Paul felt the leading of the Spirit opposed to this also. Somewhat later Christianity became, through some agency, established in Bithynia, for I Peter is addressed to Bithynian Christians, among others, and, at the opening of the second century, the younger Pliny going out as Governor of Bithynia found Christianity long established in that northern province of the peninsula of Asia Minor. Excluded from Bithynia, they pushed westward through the northern parts of the province of Asia until they came to the region of ancient Troy, on the northeasterly shore of the Ægean. They were now fully six hundred and fifty miles from Syrian Antioch, and Paul and Silas had doubtless traveled much farther than that in reaching this point, even if they had not gone into northern Galatia.

Whatever may have been the thought with which Paul proposed this trip to Barnabas, he had now gone on two hundred and fifty miles beyond the farthest point (Antioch of Pisidia) reached on their earlier mission. Yet Acts makes no mention of preaching or establishing of new churches on this weary tramp, when they were forbidden to preach in Asia and prevented from entering Bithynia. No back-turning Mark would have been fit companion for such a doubtful journey. It is indeed open to question whether one of Barnabas's temperament would have pushed on thus with Paul between the Scylla of Asia and the Charybdis of Bithynia, with no indication of any definite destination ahead.

Now at Troas, there comes to Paul a vision of the night—a man of Macedonia standing, beseeching him, and saying, "Come over into Macedonia and help us." Acts adds: And when he had seen the vision, straightway we sought to go forth into Macedonia. This is the first appearance in the book of the so-called "we sections," recognized as extracts from the diary of a traveling companion

of Paul. If Luke was the diarist, then he first joined Paul at Troas and went with him to Philippi in Macedonia. When Paul and his companions leave Philippi² it is no longer "we," but "they" who go on. It would seem, therefore, that the diarist was left at Philippi.

It has been conjectured that the Greek author of the diary was himself a Macedonian and that when he met Paul at Troas, he presented to him a plea for the needs of Macedonia. Deeply moved by the meeting and conversation with this cultured physician, Paul must have questioned whether all the obstacles to preaching in Asia and Bithynia had not been the Divine directing of his journey toward Macedonia. Falling asleep, his doubts were resolved by the vision of the man of Macedonia. Whether or not the meeting with the diarist whom we suppose to have been Luke, was the tangible basis of the vision, the vision led to results of vast significance.

Possibly the Christian faith had already been brought to European cities in the nineteen or twenty years since Pentecost, by the ceaseless movement of members of the Jewish race throughout the Empire; but when Paul and his companions crossed from Asia to Macedonia, the systematic evangelization of European countries was begun. It was in Europe that Christianity was to make its greatest and most permanent progress for the next sixteen centuries. Then, with the spread of European civilization over the western hemisphere, the Christianity of Europe would become the dominant religion there, destined in turn, through the great missionary impulse of the nineteenth century, to turn back upon Asia, the continent of its birth.

The passage of Paul and his friends from Troas to the port of Neapolis on the Macedonian coast was a short and prosperous one. The distance was about one hundred and twenty-five miles, and apparently they made it in two

²xvii. 1.

days, for they made a straight course to Samothrace, and the day following covered the longer leg of the course to Neapolis, the modern Kavalla. Passing a few miles inland along the highway toward Thessalonica they came to Philippi. This city was situated on a steep hill overlooking an extensive plain where, about ninety years before, Octavius and Antony had gained their decisive victory over Brutus and Cassius. After this victory, the city, which bore the name of Philip of Macedon and had been one of his fortified frontier towns, received a Roman colony, being known as *Colonia Julia Philippensis*.

Paul has now reached a community where there is no synagogue, but outside the city gate, by a riverside, is a place of prayer where women are accustomed to meet together. There Paul and his companions found opportunity to address them. Among the listeners was one Lydia, probably so called because her home-city, Thyatira, was in the district of Lydia, in the province of Asia. This woman was a dealer in the purple-dyed garments for which her home was famous. Already she was a worshiper of Jehovah and now she accepted the truth spoken by Paul and was baptized, with her household. She then urgently invited the company of missionaries to become guests in her home.

In sad contrast to this independent business woman, won to the Christian faith, is the case of the poor slave girl who was, perhaps, slightly demented and was thought, in consequence, to be possessed with a spirit of divination, so that her masters were able to use her as a clairvoyant and gain money for themselves from those who sought her occult powers. To her, in some way, came the conviction that the missionaries were emissaries of the supreme God, and day by day she followed them proclaiming this, to the great distress of Paul, who finally used the power of her faith in him to bring quiet to her troubled spirit. Her masters, thus deprived of their miserable gains, seized Paul

and Silas and brought them before the prætors, accusing them as Jews who were teaching customs unlawful for Romans to observe. The accusers were supported by the multitude, and the magistrates ordered the preachers to be beaten and cast into the prison. The jailor being charged to keep them safely, put them in the inner dungeon with their feet fast in the stocks.

Then a most extraordinary thing happened. About midnight, as Paul and Silas were in the inner prison with their feet fast in the stocks, and were praying and singing, there was an earthquake that opened the dungeons. The jailor, thinking that the prisoners must have escaped, was about to take his own life, but Paul called to him to do himself no harm, for all were there. Calling for lights, he sprang in and fell down before Paul and Silas. Then he brought them out and said, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" After he had received Christian instruction, he washed the clotted wounds inflicted by the beating, and was baptized, he and all his house. Then he fed the prisoners, who evidently remained with him until morning, when the prætors sent the lictors with charge concerning them.

In accounts of wonders previously met during our study of New Testament history, we have had to face the possibility that the story had grown as it had passed from mouth to mouth for a considerable period before being committed to writing. But this narrative of the slave girl and the imprisonment that followed upon her healing begins in the first person. The writer of the diary was with Paul and Silas at least when the girl began to follow them about. Although he does not seem to have been present at the moment of the arrest nor in the prison, we have the record of one who was a companion of Paul, Silas, and Timothy on the visit to Philippi. If, as may be strongly maintained, the diarist is the author of the Book of the

Acts as a whole, the entire account is almost that of an eye witness. The event is not characterized by any of the familiar terms used in the Gospels as meaning a miracle. Almost to the smallest details, all that happens might come in the regular course of nature; but even cold, scientific criticism can hardly refrain from applying the term "providential" to the earthquake which shattered the prison that night. The jailor, of course, saw in the event the direct intervention of the God whom Paul and Silas proclaimed.

The wondrous occurrence was not made the basis for appeal in a longer mission at Philippi. Like his Lord, Paul seems to have sought faith based upon other grounds than mere wonder at any physical marvels attending his labors. Faith in the power of God manifest in phenomena that seem contrary to nature, that is, faith that rests on physical miracles, is not the distinctive Christian faith.

When it was day the lictors came from the prætors with instructions to let Paul and Silas go. Whether the earthquake had greatly affected the quarter of the town where they lived, or report of its effect on the prison had come to the magistrates, is not stated; but it would seem that report at least must have reached them by morning. Whatever may have led them to decide upon immediate release of the prisoners whom they had wished guarded so securely the night before, the magistrates were now to receive a severe blow to the self-confidence with which they had yesterday assigned two stranger Jews to cruel beating and imprisonment. Paul would not leave his newly founded church with the opprobrium resting upon it of its founder's punishment as a malefactor: "They have beaten us publicly,³ men that are Romans, and have cast us into prison;

³ The Greek adds "uncondemned," but it is pointed out that under Roman law, a citizen could not be beaten even if condemned. Ramsay suggests that the phrase used by Paul was

and do they now cast us out privily? nay, verily; but let them come themselves and bring us out." So the prætors themselves came and besought the missionaries to depart from the city; but they went away deliberately after they had had the opportunity to meet the brethren at the house of Lydia and to comfort them.

Ten years later, toward the close of Paul's four years of imprisonment in Cæsarea and Rome, he wrote a letter to his friends at Philippi which has been embodied in the New Testament. From this it appears that Paul's first European church was ever the most sympathetic with him and the dearest to his heart of all the churches which he established in the course of almost three decades of missionary activity. As in many other cases, we can draw only a rough inference as to the length of time that Paul remained at Philippi, but it must have been for a number of weeks.

Departing from Philippi, Paul and Silas took the high road to Thessalonica, passing through the ancient Thracian cities of Amphipolis and Apollonia on the way. In Thessalonica they had reached the capital city of the province of Macedonia. Situated at the head of the Thermaic Gulf and on natural routes of travel, it was the inevitable political and commercial center of the region. The prominent part that Thessalonica, under its modern abbreviated name of Salonica, played as the center of the allied operations against Bulgaria and Turkey in the World War of 1914 to 1918 indicates the natural and permanent importance of this ancient city.

At this great center, the Jewish residents were sufficiently numerous to have an established synagogue. Arguing there

probably "*re incognita*," "without investigating our case;" and that Luke translated it by a Greek word which would sometimes fairly well represent its meaning, though not in this case. (*St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, pp. 224-5).

for three successive Sabbaths, Paul convinced some of the Jews that the suffering, risen Jesus was the Messiah; but a greater number of the devout Greeks and chief women associated themselves with Paul and Silas, so that the church founded there was predominantly Gentile. From various allusions in Paul's letters to Thessalonica and Philippi, it is evident that the three Sabbaths mentioned in Acts did not mark the full extent of the stay at Thessalonica; it must have been a much longer period than that. From the letters which Paul sent back to Thessalonica from Corinth, we gather that he had emphasized in his preaching the second coming of Christ, but had sought to guard against the dangers incident to undue excitement upon this subject by indicating that there were certain pre-conditions, and especially by emphasizing by word and deed the duty of daily industry and self-support.

At length their Jewish opponents roused the rabble of the city to attack the house of Jason, where they supposed Paul and Silas to be. Not finding them there, they dragged Jason and those of the Christians whom they did find, before the Politarchs, accusing the former of harboring disturbers of the peace, and accusing all of acting contrary to the Emperor's decrees, saying that there is another King, one Jesus. So Jason and the others were put under bonds.

The accusation was a dangerous one to face in a provincial capital anxious to maintain its status as loyal to the Emperor. If they succeeded in bringing the strangers, Paul and Silas, before the magistrates who had put citizens of Thessalonica under bonds for consorting with them, it would evidently go hard with them, and might bring more serious troubles upon the Thessalonian Christians. So the brethren immediately sent them away by night, to Berea, some fifty miles southwestward from Thessalonica.

In Berea, as in Thessalonica, there was a synagogue, where, according to the narrative in Acts, Paul promptly

sought a hearing and found open-minded Jews, ready to examine the Scriptures daily, testing his arguments for the Messiahship of Jesus. More Jews than at Thessalonica were won and, as at the Macedonian capital, many Greek women of high standing, and men also.

In Macedonia, only Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berea are named as scenes of Paul's labors, yet the possibility is not precluded that Paul may have visited other communities in the province, further to the westward, so that he could feel at this time that his ministry had extended as far as Illyricum, that is, to the northwestern boundary of Macedonia.⁴

It is the custom of the writer of Acts to pass rapidly over, or to omit, places and events which do not especially concern the phases of the history which he is seeking to make clear. We find, at a later point, that Paul paid a visit to Corinth, during his three years ministry in Ephesus, to which the writer of Acts makes no allusion. It may well be, therefore, that during or before his Berean ministry, Paul's mission was extended to the farther boundaries of Macedonia. It is possible that during Paul's visit to Macedonia, some six years later, his ministry was extended to the west of Berea, but the later journey through Macedonia seems to afford less probable opportunity for this than the time of the Berean mission.

At length, news of Paul's successful work in Berea reached the Jewish population of Thessalonica, and some of their zealous members came to repeat their accusations against the Christian teachers. Now the friends in Berea decided to conduct Paul far beyond the boundaries of Macedonia into the province of Achaia, to ancient Athens itself. This was a journey of nearly three hundred miles by land and sea. Here, it would seem that Paul might begin again his ministry without fear of molestation from

⁴ Rom. xv. 19.

Thessalonica. From the First Epistle to the Thessalonians we learn that, in his anxiety for his recent converts, Paul sent Timothy back from Athens to establish and comfort them, and was himself left there alone.⁵ Acts, on the other hand, implies that Silas and Timothy were left behind in Berea, for those who accompanied Paul to Athens were given a charge for Silas and Timothy to come to him with all speed. Putting the two accounts together, it seems either that Timothy followed Paul to Athens and was then sent back on his mission to Thessalonica, or that Luke, knowing that Timothy was in Thessalonica not a great while after Paul came to Athens, inferred that he had been left in Macedonia, whereas he had accompanied Paul, only Silas remaining behind.

Paul had sojourned in various towns and cities in western Asia and northern Greece, but Athens presented some new phases of Greek life. Trained in the Pharisees' abhorrence of idols, the city to him seemed wholly given over to idolatry. In the synagogue he found opportunity to reason with the Jews and devout persons who gathered there, and in the Agora (market place) every day there were many ready to listen to an itinerant teacher who came to Athens to seek a hearing as the philosophers were wont to do.

In the modern city of Athens one of the most striking relics of the ancient town is the columned and pedimented, triple gateway which was erected in the Agora by Augustus, about half a century before Paul's visit to the city. Here the visitor may vividly feel himself treading close in the footprints of St. Paul on his great missionary endeavor. Luke tells us that among those who met him in the market place were representatives of the two great schools of philosophy of that age, the Epicurean and Stoic. With the former, Paul had little in common, but the close

⁵I Thess. iii. 1.

parallels between his teachings and those of the Stoics have often been pointed out. In his words concerning Jesus and the resurrection, however, he probably seemed no less to the Stoic than to the Epicurean a setter forth of strange gods. So they took hold of Paul and brought him unto the Areopagus (Hill of Ares or Mars).

The Areopagus was a low hill lying south of the Agora and presenting toward the northeast an almost perpendicular cliff of fifteen or twenty feet in height, with a gradual slope leading up to its foot and then a flight of fifteen rock-hewn steps leading to the top. Going about the western end of this little precipice, it was but a few minutes walk up an easy slope from the Agora to the comparatively level summit of the hill. A slightly lower shoulder of land connects this hill with the westerly end of the loftier Acropolis. Standing on Mars Hill one could look up the long flights of steps leading through the Propylæa of the Acropolis, catching a glimpse of the beautiful little Niké Apteros at the right and perhaps the Parthenon and Erectheum on the summit. To the southwest stretched away the Attic plain to the sea, with Salamis and the other beautiful islands in the distance. At one's feet, to the north and northeast, lay the lower part of the city embosomed between the ridge formed by the Acropolis and Areopagus and the foot of Lycabettus, with its conical rock summit affording such a striking contrast to the broad-topped Acropolis over against it.

On the summit of Mars Hill, near the end toward the Acropolis, was probably the place where the Court of Areopagus anciently sat in the open air. Within the boundary of the court stood an altar to Athene Areia. Below in a cleft of the rock was, it is believed, the sanctuary of the Erinnyes, containing statues of these three goddesses and also of Pluto, Hermes, and Ge. Toward the foot of the hill was a temple of Ares containing statues of Enyo,

Aphrodite, and Athene, as well as Ares. On this hilltop the surroundings were such as would still further provoke the spirit of the earnest worshiper of the one God, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. On this spot from prehistoric times had sat an honored court hearing cases of such serious crimes as wilful murder and incendiarism, and also empowered to deal with various matters affecting religion and morals.

In former times, it has been generally assumed that it was before this court, in its latter capacity, that Paul was led to the summit of the hill. In more recent years, it has been much debated whether he was taken to the hilltop at all, since the court of the Areopagus in his time was wont to sit in the *Stoa Basileios*, along the northwest side of the Agora.

The probability seems to be that the ancient interpretation of the narrative which understood that Paul was led to the top of Mars Hill was correct, but that it was not in order to give him a hearing before the court, but rather in an informal assembly of those who gathered in this convenient place to hear one who brought certain strange things to the ears of a community who, as Luke felt, spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing. Some of the modern arguments have weight against the hill as the scene of the gathering, but such statements as: "the top of the little hill is a most unsuitable place from its small size and its exposed position" or "the summit of the hill is said to be too confined for a large crowd to gather on it," found in usually reliable writers, are curiously unintelligible to one who is familiar with the place and has had experience in addressing outdoor gatherings. There would be no difficulty for a speaker to make himself heard on the summit of the hill by a gathering much larger than we need to suppose came together to hear Paul there.

If it be true that Paul spoke on the summit of the hill,

then the statement that he stood in the midst of the Areopagus means in the midst of the hill and not of the court. With this view accords the fact that we hear nothing of any decision of the court at the close of Paul's address.

The address of Paul on this occasion, as given in Acts xvii. 22-31, contains two hundred and sixty-four words, in the English translation, precisely the same number as Lincoln's Gettysburg address; in the Greek it has fewer than two hundred words. Like the address of Lincoln, it is universally recognized as a masterpiece of oratory. It begins with an admirable point of contact with the hearers, noting their great religiousness as evidenced by an altar "To an Unknown God." From this it leads on quickly to the unknown God who made the world, the Lord of heaven and earth, who dwells not in temples made with hands, seeing that he giveth to all life and breath. It is interesting to note the interweaving of Jewish thought with Greek ideas in this address. It has been remarked that "the Greek philosophers had observed the orderly system of the universe, but they had not attributed its origin and maintenance to the one God."

In doing this Paul speaks from the point of view of Jewish monotheism. Yet the thought that deity dwells not in temples made with hands and needs nothing from man, may be matched in Greek writers, and for other aspects of divinity, Paul goes directly to them. "In him we live and move and have our being" is almost an exact quotation of the fourth line of a fragment supposed to be taken from the lost "Minos" of the early Cretan poet and philosopher Epimenides, the second line of which is quoted in the Epistle to Titus. The direct quotation: "For we are also his offspring" is from Aratus, a Stoic philosopher born in Paul's native Cilicia, three centuries before the Apostle. The same thought was expressed in similar words, in the Hymn to Zeus, of Cleanthes, head of the Stoic school

in Athens after the death of Zeno. We may wonder whether the double source of the line is in mind when we note the plural in Acts xvii. 28: as certain even of your own poets have said. From the Stoic thought of man as the offspring of God, Paul argues that we ought not to think of the Deity as like graven gold, silver, or stone. Such ignorance God has overlooked in the past, but now he has appointed a day for judgment. The one whom he has ordained for this judgment he has certified by raising from the dead.

In view of the question as to how far the speeches of Acts are, like those of Thucydides and other ancient historians, the artistic creation of the author of the book, it is interesting to compare the attitude toward the worship of graven images in this supposed address at Athens, with the certainly authentic words of Paul in writing a few years later to the Church at Rome. There he declared the Gentile world under the wrath of God because it had failed to recognize his everlasting power and divinity as creator of the visible world. He charged that they really knew God but glorified him not as God and changed the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds and beasts. God revealed in creation is thus the thought in Paul's own words as it is in the words attributed to him at Athens.

That Acts is correct in ascribing this line of thought to Paul when addressing Gentiles is quite clear. At Athens he spoke of past ignorance as overlooked by God, while in Romans he expressed the thought that the Gentiles really had knowledge, but blinded themselves by their perverse worship. In these respects the thought is somewhat different, yet it may be that the Athenian experience contributed to the point of view in Romans, and the particular form of the thought in the epistle does not make it impossible to hold that the speech of Acts xvii is in substance

that which Paul delivered on Mars Hill, five years before he wrote to the Romans. On the whole the comparison strengthens the conviction that Luke has preserved for us the characteristic flavor of the Pauline preaching as well as that of the early Jerusalem Apostles.

When Paul spoke of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked; others said they would hear him again; but some believed, among whom was one of the members of the Court of the Areopagus. It does not appear, however, that any permanent body of believers was at this time established in Athens, as there was in Philippi, Thessalonica, and soon afterward in Corinth.

There is no indication that Paul was driven out of Athens; apparently he found himself treated as merely one of the peripatetic philosophers and discovered that the Athenians of his day were moved by intellectual curiosity rather than by moral and religious enthusiasm. When he later described his coming to Corinth from Athens, he wrote: And I, brethren, when I came unto you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, proclaiming to you the testimony of God. For I determined not to know anything among you; save Jesus Christ and him crucified.⁶ It is not easy to avoid the inference, often drawn, that Paul's Athenian experience had convinced him of the practical inutility for the purpose of winning converts to a new life of such excellent speech and wisdom as he had used in Athens.

From Athens to Corinth, the journey took Paul along the Sacred Way to Eleusis, traveled by the procession of worshipers for the nine-day festival of Demeter. He must have passed close by the great temple of the Eleusinian mysteries, which led the thought of the worshipers, by its symbolic ritual, from the winter death of the fruit-bearing earth and its revival to the death and revivification of the soul of man. We can only wonder whether Paul meditated

⁶ I Cor. ii. 1-2.

at all upon the relation of the Eleusinian mysteries to his own doctrine of death and resurrection. In writing to the Corinthians a few years later, he used a parallel from the death and resurrection of the seed to enforce his own doctrine. Nor can we say whether the beautiful views, as Paul passed along the road by the Saronic Gulf appealed to him or not. Paul's speech, unlike that of Jesus, does not often reflect either the beauty or majesty of nature. He was, perhaps, much dejected by the reception of his message in Athens; humiliated, it may be, by the thought that he had failed to win believers through permitting himself to speak as one of the itinerant philosophers, in the home of philosophy. At any rate he came to Corinth in weakness, fear, and much trembling.⁷

Two cities only fifty miles apart could not offer a greater contrast than Corinth and Athens. The ancient city with its treasures of art had been totally destroyed by Mummius in 146 B.C. The inhabitants had been sold into slavery, and the site lay desolate for a century, until Julius Cæsar placed a colony there of Roman freedmen and needy Greeks, and made it the capital of the entire province of Achaia. The situation of the city at the head of the Gulf of Corinth and commanding the narrow isthmus that connects the Peloponnesus with the rest of Greece, was such that the commercial importance of the place was inevitable, if only it were given a chance. The little ships of that day were anxious to avoid the long and possibly rough voyage around the Peloponnesus, and so the vessels were hauled across the low, narrow isthmus, or the goods were transhipped. The commerce of the East and West passed of necessity, and the new colony soon acquired a great trade with Ephesus, Thessalonica, and many other cities. The community became a cosmopolitan one, made up of Greeks, Romans, and many Orientals. As such rich, com-

⁷ I Cor. ii. 3.

posite, commercial communities are apt to do, Corinth soon acquired an unenviable fame for luxury and vice in every form. At the same time, this new city, lacking the self-restraint bred by centuries of continuous life, proudly regarded itself as the heir of the glories of ancient Greece.

It was a courageous act for Paul, alone, to enter such a city and try to establish there a new religion. Here would be a test indeed for the efficacy of his Gospel to meet the needs of the self-confident, commercial age which the *pax Romana* had made possible, and which found its very focus in Corinth. This city, we may well feel, was more typical of the life of the first century A.D. than Rome itself. The problem was a very different one from that faced in Athens. It was perhaps this place to which Paul had really been directing his course since he left Macedonia. The work in Athens, as it is recorded in Acts, seems rather incidental. However discouraging may have been the attempt at Athens, the work at Philippi and Thessalonica had given valuable preparation for the conditions to be met at the Achaian capital. Philippi was, like Corinth, a Roman colony founded on an ancient site, and Thessalonica was, like Corinth, a commercial city.

As Paul came in fear and trembling to Corinth, he did not yet know whether his work at Thessalonica had met with any permanent success or not. He had been driven out with the labor he hoped to bestow, on instructing and confirming the new church, unfinished. Would they be able to endure the inevitable persecution that would come? The question haunted him at Athens, so that he could not forbear to send Timothy⁸ to establish and comfort them, even at the cost of being left alone in the strange city. Timothy did not rejoin him until after he had reached Corinth. So, as he came to the great city alone and friendless, he must have had many anxious doubts lest his labor

⁸ I Thess. iii. 1-5.

at Thessalonica had been in vain. Before he had left Macedonia he had evidence of the faithfulness of the Philippian Christians, who had sent once and again unto his need.⁹ In Berea, where he had been well received at first, he had later met hostility which had forced him to flee far off to Athens. He perhaps had little or no knowledge as to whether his labor there had been in vain. Probably the Church in Philippi was all that he could count upon as the result of his bold and instant answer to the Macedonian call.

Arrived at Corinth, Paul found a fellow countryman and fellow craftsman, Aquila by name. He and his wife Priscilla became staunch adherents of the Christian faith and loyal helpers in the work of Paul. With these good people, who were also newcomers in Corinth, since they had recently been driven out of Rome by the decree of Claudius against the Jews, Paul made his abode. Together they wrought at their trade as tent makers, throughout the week. On the Sabbath, Paul found opportunity to speak in the synagogue, as he had in other cities. Then Silas and Timothy came down from Macedonia and joined him. Timothy brought glad tidings of the faith and love of his Thessalonian converts and of their loyal service to all the brethren in Macedonia.¹⁰

Now Paul seems to have taken new courage and to have spoken out more boldly and decisively as to the Messiahship of Jesus. This of course brought upon him bitter opposition, although Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, believed and was baptized, together with his household, as were many of the Corinthians. The mission, begun in fear and trembling, was bearing much fruit, and back in Macedonia there were faithful congregations longing to see Paul.

Now there came to him another vision of the night.

⁹ Phil. iv. 16.

¹⁰ I Thess. iii. 6, iv. 9-10.

It was not this time a man of Macedonia calling for help, but the voice of the Lord that Paul heard, bidding him not to fear, but to continue his labors in Corinth. So he carried on his work in the city for a year and a half and established an important church.¹¹

¹¹ The early part of the year 50 seems firmly established as the date of Paul's arrival in Corinth by the discovery of the inscription at Delphi, mentioning Gallio. See Adolf Deissmann, *St. Paul* (Eng. Translation), Appendix I. This discovery confirmed exactly the date at which Bacon had arrived some eight years before this evidence was available. *Expositor*, VII, pp. 123ff.; X, 351ff., 412ff.

CHAPTER VII

EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS

It was in the autumn of the year 51 that Paul's eighteen months' stay at Corinth was completed. Seventeen or, more probably, twenty years, had now elapsed since his conversion. During this time he must have written many letters to friends and possibly some to churches, all of which disappeared at an early date. Of his extant letters only three can be dated prior to his departure from Corinth. Of these, Galatians may possibly have been written three years earlier, during his stay at Antioch following the Council at Jerusalem;¹ but it seems more probable that this, as well as I and II Thessalonians, was written during the period spent in or near Corinth. I Thessalonians is evidently to be placed early in this period, since it was written immediately after Timothy's arrival. Galatians was sent, perhaps a little later; it seems hardly probable that the news which occasioned its writing reached Paul as early as Timothy's arrival in Corinth.

We shall therefore follow the generally accepted view that I Thessalonians is the earliest of Paul's known epistles, and so probably the earliest Christian writing known to us, composed about twenty years after the death of Jesus.

The circumstances which called forth this letter have already been indicated in part. Driven out of Thessalonica and then out of Berea, and coming to Athens, Paul was sure that the little company of followers he had left in

¹See McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, pp. 223ff.

Thessalonica would themselves be called upon to face bitter persecution. Whether they would endure the test of fire, he could not be sure; his interrupted mission had left them imperfectly instructed in the Christian doctrine and little disciplined in Christian experience. So from Athens, he sent back Timothy to establish and comfort them, and to learn whether their faith had proved equal to the test. Then Paul had gone on to Corinth, where Timothy at length rejoined him with glad tidings from Thessalonica, telling of the converts' faith and love and of their personal devotion and longing to see Paul. He cannot come to them now; he has desired to come and, once and again, has hoped to do so. His inability to come, he counts the hindrance of Satan. Under these circumstances Paul pours out his heart in a letter.

Letters constitute one of the most ancient forms of composition. Many have been preserved from early Babylonia and Egypt, and the Old Testament too contains its examples. When the best portion of the population of Jerusalem had been carried captive to Babylon in 597 B.C., for example, Jeremiah sent a letter to the distant exiles, counseling them as to their right course of conduct under the new and strange conditions that faced them.² What more natural than that Paul should write to the company of believers at Thessalonica from whom he was separated!

Few forms of composition are more conventional than letters. This is true whether one is speaking of the modern letter from its dating and "My dear Mr. Blank," to the "Very truly yours" or other formula preceding the signature, or whether it be a letter from some Babylonian of the second or third millennium B.C., with its tiresomely reiterated "say," the letter being regarded as a messenger which is repeatedly bidden to say so and so to the recipient.

² Jer. xxix.

Like most other things of antiquity, letters were even more stereotyped in their form than those of modern times.

The letters of Paul are no exception to the rule that the epistolary style is conventional, at least in its opening and conclusion. But Paul's burning spirit cannot express itself in such set phrases as abound in most ancient letters, and so the body of his letters shows much variety in form and proves a plastic medium for self-expression that makes them at once an adequate vehicle for conveying the most profound thought, the most intense emotion, or the charming courtesies and self-revelation of intimate companionship.

In an ancient letter the name of the writer may be the first word written rather than the last, whether it be "*Cicero Attico Sal.*," "*Seneca Lucilio suo salutem.*," or "Paul an apostle unto the churches of Galatia." It is the frequent custom of Paul to associate with himself in the salutation his fellow workers who are with him and are known to the recipients of the letter. So the letter to the Thessalonians begins, "Paul and Silas and Timothy unto." As indicated in Acts, Silas as well as Timothy had joined Paul in Corinth. Apparently he had not come directly from Thessalonica as Timothy had; perhaps he had remained in and about Berea where Acts represented both him and Timothy as left when Paul went to Athens.

Following the salutation, the letter to the Thessalonians begins with words of thanksgiving and appreciation, as is usually the case with Paul. He gives thanks, remembering their work of faith and labor of love and steadfastness of hope. He recalls the circumstances of his visit to the Thessalonians, who became imitators of the missionaries and of the Lord, so that they were an example to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia. Their reputation had become widespread; it was known how they turned from idols to serve the living and true God. Although Acts tells

us that some of the Jews at Thessalonica were persuaded and consorted with Paul and Silas, it seems clear from the statement in the letter that the Church, in that city, was made up in overwhelming proportion of Gentile converts, who had been idol worshippers, rather than of those who had been attached to the synagogue.

In Paul's statement: Ye became imitators of us and of the Lord, we get a glimpse of that which must ever be true of the missionary and his converts. The life of the missionary gives a concrete example of the moral standards of his religion, intelligible to those who have not been instructed in those requirements from childhood. This must have been peculiarly true in Paul's time when there was no written account of the life and teaching of Jesus which could be placed in the hands of converts or read aloud in their meetings. It is not probable that Paul himself had ever seen such an account; so that his own knowledge of the life and teachings of Jesus must have been fragmentary and general.

Paul goes on to remind the Thessalonians of the sincerity, humility, and gentleness of his ministry among them, of the way in which he and his associates imparted not the Gospel of God only, but their own souls to those who had become dear to them, and of how they had labored to support themselves while they preached. While thus the ministry was one of self-giving, he gives thanks that its message was accepted as the word of God, not of men. So they became imitators of the churches of Judæa, suffering the same things from their own countrymen as they did from the Jews—the Jews who had killed the Lord Jesus and forbade Paul to bring the message of salvation to the Gentiles. So the letter flows on smoothly with personal reminiscence and comment and with expressions of thanksgiving and longing to see the readers, more like a conversation than a written document.

With the opening of the fourth chapter, there is a change to a more formal tone of exhortation, beginning: Finally then, brethren, we beseech and exhort you in the Lord Jesus; it is as though the Apostle felt that he must make some more definite points before the converse with his friends came to its inevitable end. He urges their continuance in the high standard of social morality which, as we have already noted, was so characteristic of the Christian life, in contrast to the Græco-Roman life of the century. From this, his discourse passes to love of the brethren in which the Thessalonians have already shown excellence, and urges in addition the quiet attention of each to his own daily work.

The Apostle then takes up a matter of doctrine concerning the second coming. Evidently he had taught the Thessalonians to expect the coming of the Lord from heaven in glory, and now he feared lest they grieve for those of their number who had died before this glorious consummation. He assures them that these shall not be missing; rather they shall be the first to rise. They do not need instruction as to times and seasons; the day of the Lord comes as a thief in the night. He warns them to watch and be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet the hope of salvation. They were appointed to obtain salvation through the Lord Jesus who died for them, that whether they wake or sleep they should live together with Him.

After this eschatological section, there follow a number of brief exhortations for the individual and common life of the Thessalonian Church, ending with the splendid summons: Quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesyings; prove all things; hold fast that which is good; abstain from every form of evil. Herein Paul gives a trumpet call for every age in which new experience and new truth are pouring in: Go forward; trust the Spirit and the vision,

be ready for new truth and new experience; do not hesitate to question the established, but make not the fatal error in your eagerness for the new of trying to cut loose from the past; examine all things; hold fast that which is good.

After this great climax of the hortatory section, which has moved so far up and beyond the conversational tone of the opening chapters, comes the somewhat formal epistolary conclusion with its appeal and personal request for prayer, its salutation to the brethren, its charge to read the letter to all, and its brief benediction.

A survey of this first extant epistle of Paul in connection with the circumstances that called it forth shows how mechanical has been some of the discussion as to whether Paul's writings are to be classed as "letters" or "epistles." "Literary epistles," in the sense that they were written in the form of letters but designed to be reproduced immediately in many duplicate copies and widely circulated, they certainly were not. The Epistle to the Thessalonians was a genuine letter, having the function of any letter which supplies the place of personal intercourse, by word of mouth and face to face; but, given a Paul writing to one of his churches as he thinks of the needs of its members, the letter passes from the simple intercourse of personal, loving friendship to lofty discourse addressed to the many and containing formal exhortation and instruction. As such, we may say if we will, it ceases to be a letter and becomes an epistle, and yet more than half of it is just a charming letter from three friends to a group of friends.

So naturally, out of unexpected and unsought conditions, did the literature of the New Testament begin; and literature this letter truly is, whether we define literature in terms of felicitous expression of exalted feeling or of significant thought interpreting the perennial realities of life in terms universally comprehensible. The deep joys of fellowship in hope, suffering, striving, anxiety, and com-

fort—these are bodied forth in living words that grow not old through the centuries, but exalt and purify the emotions of all who have loved and labored and hoped and feared and, through common suffering, have come to know the deepest peace that life can give. Thinking of it in this aspect, the function of this epistle seems to be that ascribed to lyric poetry as its peculiar mission—to purify and exalt the emotions.

First Thessalonians is not considered one of Paul's doctrinal epistles, yet if we possessed only this writing from his pen, we should know something of his doctrine of the fatherhood of God, the resurrection of Jesus, and salvation through him who died for us, that whether we wake or sleep we should live together with him. We should know much of his doctrine of the "parousia" or royal second coming of Christ, which had clearly formed an important part of his teaching at Thessalonica; he first refers to this incidentally and then as something familiar to his readers.³

Later he returns to the subject, to correct a misunderstanding that seems to have arisen concerning one aspect of this doctrine. In the resurrection of Jesus from the dead Paul finds the ground of faith that God will bring with him those who have fallen asleep in him; then he makes a solemn asseveration on the word of the Lord that we that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in nowise precede them that are fallen asleep, and he continues: For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trumpet of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.⁴

The portion of this which is most clearly ascribed to the

³i. 9b-10a, iii. 13.

⁴iv. 15-17.

word of the Lord is the assurance that those who are alive at the coming shall in nowise precede them that are fallen asleep. We find no clear statement of this assurance in the words ascribed to Jesus in any of our four Gospels. On the other hand, we there find the destruction of Jerusalem and world commotion as the prelude of the coming. Of this Paul makes no mention here. Apparently we meet in I Thessalonians and the Gospels different lines of tradition as to what Jesus taught on this subject, agreeing, however, in the thought that the great day would come before that generation passed, but at some time which could not be accurately foretold. Paul felt that it was not important to know the time, rather watch and be sober, armed with faith and love, and the hope of salvation.

From this letter alone, we should also know much of Paul's ethical doctrine. The fundamental virtue which he finds in the Thessalonians, and which he longs to see abound more and more, is love toward one another and toward all men. This virtue increasing, their hearts will be established unblamable in holiness before God.

In just what way the Thessalonians have manifested their love toward all the brethren that are in all Macedonia, we do not know, nor does Paul at this time analyze or define exactly what he means by love. At one point, he associates with it very closely, studying to be quiet, to do one's own business, working with one's own hands, that thus one may walk becomingly toward them that are without and may have need of nothing. Apparently, quiet, hard, daily work that conduces to the good order of society and makes one self-supporting, is the part of Christian Love. Again he beseeches them to esteem their religious leaders highly in love. He follows this with an injunction to be at peace among themselves, to admonish the disorderly, encourage the faint-hearted, support the weak, and to be long-suffering toward all, not returning evil for evil, but

always following after that which is good one toward another and toward all.

The clear impression is left on the mind, after reading chapters iv and v, that Paul's conception of the life of love, consists first in bearing one's own burden, then in trying to secure good order in the community, and in helping the weaker, with forbearance and good will toward all. He emphasizes continence as the will of God of which he had charged them through the Lord Jesus. Such sins as fornication and adultery, so common in the world in which the Thessalonians lived, constitute a rejection of God who called them not unto uncleanness, but in sanctification, and who giveth them his Holy Spirit. Still other virtues which Paul emphasizes as especially the will of God in Christ Jesus are joy and thanksgiving. Should we include these among moral duties, or are they more specifically attitudes toward God rather than man? Paul is not accustomed to draw such lines of distinction.

We have already noted the Apostle's attitude toward truth, new and old, the open mind that is ready to examine and prove, but not the over radical mind eager to discard the old because it is old. We should recognize, however, in interpreting this last thought of Paul, that he is probably not thinking primarily of intellectual virtue, but of readiness to follow the guidance of the Spirit.

In all these matters affecting the life of the Thessalonians in relation to daily duty and social well-being, Paul's thought is practically significant, interpreting the perennial realities of life in terms universally comprehensible. He is not seeking to write an Utopia, but he is setting forth principles of conduct which, if made the rule of the Church of Thessalonica in the first century, would carry that group-life far toward Utopia. And yet, they are not impracticable ideals. Rather are they indications of the

very lines on which the conscious evolution of society must proceed.

If this first writing of our New Testament meets the test of true literature in its felicitous expression of pure and exalted emotion, and in its forceful presentation of significant and universal truth, is it also marked by that other characteristic of genuine literature, the opening of intimate fellowship with a great soul? A recent biographer of Cicero⁵ declares that more is known about Cicero than any other person of the ancient world. He ascribes this not so much to the great amount of early writing about him as to the knowledge that comes from his own writings, those extant having an aggregate extent materially greater than *Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire*, and to the further fact that in the case of Cicero even the most impersonal of his works are largely autobiographical. He finds this autobiographical tendency due in some degree to Cicero's personality, but far more to the character of the times. The extant writings of the Apostle Paul are small in number when compared with those of Cicero, and the writings about him, coming from his own century, are brief indeed. There are great gaps in our knowledge of the course of his life; yet one may question whether, in actual knowledge of the character and personality of the writer, we may not know Paul as truly as we may know Cicero.

His writings are singularly self-revealing. Sometimes, like Cicero, he tried to set before his readers "the kind of picture of himself that he wished them to have;" but, unlike the great Roman, he was not trying to spread his professional reputation for the sake of personal ambition. He was speaking of himself for the sake of establishing the authority of his message or securing the purity of the life of his converts. From Cicero we have speeches, essays on rhetoric and philosophy, and letters—the last numbering

⁵Torsten Petersson, *Cicero, A Biography*, 1920.

about eight hundred. From Paul, we have in all ten letters that may with more or less of certainty be ascribed to him, besides three, the Pastorals, which probably have a Pauline nucleus of material.

If we had from Paul only his first extant letter, we should know how he worked at Thessalonica day and night, supporting himself and not burdening any, while he preached the Gospel of God to them; how he dealt with each as a father, exhorting and encouraging to the end that they should walk worthily of God; how he had been shamefully treated at Philippi before coming to Thessalonica and yet boldly spoke to the Thessalonians the Gospel of God in much conflict; how, though he might have claimed apostolic authority, he sought not the glory of men, but was gentle as a nurse cherishing her children; how he imparted, not the gospel only, but his own soul to the Thessalonians who had become very dear to him.

We should know that it was against the express prohibition of his own people that he preached salvation to the Gentiles; that he had longed to return to Thessalonica, but had been prevented once and again, and that he had been most anxious lest persecution might turn these inexperienced converts from the faith, and that, under this anxiety, he had preferred to be left alone in Athens while sending Timothy to establish and comfort them and to bring word of their condition.

From this one little epistle, we should know also how his life was bound up with that of his converts—We live if ye stand fast in the Lord—that he, their teacher, longed for the support of their prayers as well as for their love and their holy estate. We see him here a man of strong human affection, capable of the deepest love and joy and gratitude to God and man, knowing loneliness and anxiety as only one of his intense nature can know them.

All this and more, Paul reveals of himself in one short

writing, and we find in it that deep solace and inspiration afforded by literature—intimate insight into a great, vital personality, in whom towering ambition and genuine self-appreciation were taken up into a life-purpose that enfolded these dangerous qualities and mighty forces and glorified them in unselfish service.

Much more doubt exists concerning the Pauline authorship of II Thessalonians than that of the first epistle, which is now generally acknowledged to be Paul's. On the whole, however, the probability seems to be that, while they were still together in Corinth, Paul, Silas, and Timothy sent the second letter to the Thessalonians. Again the message was one of thanksgiving for growth in faith and love and for steadfastness in persecutions and afflictions; but now a new danger has appeared in connection with the eager expectation of the parousia. At the time of the first letter, they were distressed lest those of their number who had died should not share in the glories of the second coming. Now they are demoralized by the idea that the day is close at hand. Paul warns them that this cannot be; his teachings have been misinterpreted. There must come first the falling away; the son of perdition that exalteth himself against all that is called God must appear, sitting in the temple of God and setting himself forth as God. He had told them these things when with them. The mystery of lawlessness is already working, but there is one that restrains; when he shall be taken out of the way, the lawless one shall be revealed, whom the Lord will slay and bring to nought by the manifestation of his coming.

In the practical section which follows this eschatological material, Paul emphasizes even more strongly than in the previous letter an orderly life of labor for self-support and asserts that when he was with them he gave the command: If any man will not work, neither let him eat. Report has come to him that there are some among them

who will not work, but are busybodies. Such he commands and exhorts in the Lord Jesus Christ that with quietness they work and eat their own bread. If any man refuses to obey, Paul urges that the others shame him by withdrawing from him, not counting him as an enemy, but admonishing him as a brother. The letter concludes with a salutation in Paul's own hand, which is declared to be the token in every epistle, followed by the benediction.

Much of this letter is almost verbatim a repetition of I Thessalonians. Its additional material is a more elaborate eschatology, nowhere else contained in Paul's writings, and a much stronger insistence upon quiet work for self-support. There is, too, a tone of command rather foreign to the first epistle. The eschatological doctrine is not referred to the word of the Lord, as in the previous epistle, and is even more without parallel in any recorded teachings of Jesus. Still it is not an impossible development in Paul's hands of the Jewish apocalyptic doctrine with which he must have been familiar, and it is in some respects similar to the doctrine of Revelation, though belonging to an earlier date when the Temple is still standing and the Roman Empire can be thought of as the one that restrains the working of lawlessness.

If, as many believe, this letter was written by some later teacher who adopted the model of the previous epistle and used its framework to meet a danger in Thessalonica that appeared after Paul's death, our estimate of the worth of Paul's letters and personality suffer no loss. Rather would it be a relief to his admirers to learn that Paul did not write a second letter to the same people, in which he repeated himself so mechanically, and that he did not set forth such detailed theories as to the apocalyptic future.

In Paul's later letters, we find that he did not give up the expectation of the visible second coming, but that it dropped largely into the background. In the history of

Christianity, detailed speculations in this field have usually proved unwholesome, tending to demoralize life, as was the case at Thessalonica. Jesus had denied that even he had knowledge of the precise time, and the attitude of Paul in the first epistle where he rejects discussion of times and seasons, seems in accord with that of Jesus.

If Paul did actually write II Thessalonians, we must admit that he had read into his interpretations of Jesus' Messiahship current Jewish speculations which probably had no adequate foundation in Jesus' own teaching, to a greater degree than the other epistles indicate. This is not proof that Paul did not write II Thessalonians as it stands; it is very probable that he did do so. In any case, if, as seems clear, the epistle was written to meet actual needs in Thessalonica, it stands as a witness to the tendency of apocalyptic enthusiasm to disturb the course of sober, Christian living which Paul had so forcibly and beautifully urged in First Thessalonians.

CHAPTER VIII

EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

The question as to the identity of the Galatians addressed in Paul's epistle has been discussed in Chapter IV, where the view was adopted that the principal Galatian churches were those of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra. If this identification is correct and if Paul had already visited the churches twice¹ before writing, the natural inference is that he wrote some time on his second missionary journey, after he had passed through Galatia and not later than during his long stay at Corinth; no great time seems to have elapsed since he had been in Galatia.² The letter might have been written from Macedonia or Athens, but a date somewhat later than I Thessalonians, as indicated in the previous chapter, seems rather more probable.

It would appear that Timothy and Silas were not with Paul at the time of writing, since their names are not given in the salutation; yet, on any theory, they were both with Paul in Galatia, while on the south Galatian theory, Timothy was himself a Galatian. "All the brethren that are with me" are included in the salutation, but none of these are indicated by name. This fact may seem to favor the view

¹ Gal. iv. 13.

² i. 6. Those who hold the north Galatian theory usually assign the epistle to the third missionary journey. On that view it is natural to think of Paul's long stay at Ephesus as the time of writing.

that the letter was written from Antioch before the beginning of the second journey.

It is possible to interpret the two visits to the Galatians as the journey through Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra to Derbe, and the return a few months later, all on the first missionary journey, before Silas and Timothy were associated with Paul; but it is equally possible to explain the absence of Timothy and Silas by supposing the letter written from Athens, except for the reference to "all the brethren" which seems to imply a company of believers such as we do not know of at Athens.

Since the letter is one of stern rebuke on the part of Paul as the Apostolic founder of the Galatian churches and is without the usual words of congratulation, we may explain the absence of the names as due to the fact that Paul did not care to include his associates specifically in so ungrateful a task.

The salutation completed, Paul plunges immediately into the central theme of the letter—the turning away of the Galatians from himself and the Gospel he had taught them. He marvels that they have turned so quickly, even though some have troubled them, seeking to pervert the Gospel. He declares that whoever, even though it were himself or an angel from heaven, should preach a gospel other than that which they had received, should be anathema. He justifies this stern attitude on the ground that the Gospel he had preached had come to him through no human agency, but through revelation of Jesus Christ.

In elaborating this claim, Paul is led to give the autobiographic material which has already provided much data for our historical chapters. By means of that narrative of his conversion and of his relations with the Jerusalem Apostles, he brings out clearly the great principle of his own message—no man, Jew or Gentile, can be justified before God by works of the law, but only in Christ. Exactly

how one is justified in Christ, he does not elaborate at this point, though he does speak of himself as having been crucified with Christ, so that he no longer lives, but Christ lives in him, and also speaks of living in faith in the Son of God who loved him and gave himself for him.

Paul now turns back to the thought with which he had begun, that someone had misled his Galatian converts. He asks them whether they received the Spirit by works of the law or by the message of faith, and whether having begun in the Spirit they are perfected in the flesh. Contrasting thus the outward acts of Jewish legalism with the life of the Spirit for which they have suffered and which has worked "powers" among them, he quotes Genesis xv. 6: Abraham believed God and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness. He deduces from this that those who are of faith are the sons of Abraham. In the promise to Abraham that all the nations should be blessed in him,³ he finds the foreseeing of the justification of the Gentiles by faith; so those who are of faith are blessed with the faithful Abraham. From the declaration of the prophet Habakkuk that the righteous shall live by faith,⁴ he draws the conclusion that no man is justified by the law. From the statement of Deuteronomy:⁵ He that is hanged is accursed of God, he argues that Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, by having become a curse for us. Here we begin to get more light on Paul's conception of justification in Christ.

Next, he takes up the great Old Testament idea of the covenant and its promises spoken to Abraham and his seed. By a rabbinic refinement of argument, he concludes that, since the word "seed" is singular and not plural, it refers to one, not to many—hence to Christ. The argument which follows this one is more in harmony with modern, Occidental modes of reasoning; since the promise was made to Abra-

³ Gen. xii. 3.

⁴ ii. 4.

⁵ xxi. 23.

ham and the covenant established centuries before the law, the law could not annul the earlier promise. What then is the law? It is a temporary guide to serve until the seed come, to whom the promise has been made. The law was a "tutor;" that is perhaps as good a translation of the Greek word *paidagogos* as we can make in English. We have no English equivalent for the name which was applied to the slave whose duty it was to conduct the child to the teacher. Necessarily our translation loses something of the force of Paul's figure, which very exactly represents his conception of the relation of the Old Testament law to Christ. As the *paidagogos* conducted the child to the teacher, so the law led to Christ. Now that faith has come, the slave-guide is no longer needed; for ye are now all sons of God through faith in Christ. Those who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. Distinctions of race and sex disappear in this unity in Christ; and if ye are Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed and heirs.

In childhood the heir is under guardians and stewards, restrained like a slave, so we have been under childhood restraints until, in the fullness of time, God has sent forth his Son to redeem those under the law and give them the adoption of sons. You Galatians, who did not know God, were in bondage to those which by nature were no gods; now why do you turn back to the weak and beggarly rudiments?

From this appeal to live in a spiritual religion as sons of God, Paul turns to a more personal call, reminding the Galatians of their old tender feeling for him, and wishing that he might be with them again and speak face to face, in a manner very different from that in which he is forced to speak by letter. We have seemed to be following a profound theological essay, but suddenly we find it is a letter from Paul, their spiritual parent, to his children, for whom he is again in birth-pangs until Christ is formed in them.

Paul next puts in what he recognizes as a bit of allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament law, directed to the Galatians who desire to be under the law, identifying themselves with the Isaac line as children of promise. From this section that shows the Apostle no less familiar with the allegorical methods of a Philo than with the fine-spun distinctions of the rabbis, he turns to direct, simple appeal, to stand fast in the freedom of Christ and not to be entangled again in a yoke of bondage. He then passes to the most clear-cut, definite assertion that, if they receive circumcision, Christ profits them nothing; it is one thing or the other for them, Christ or the law; it cannot be Christ and the law. In Christ, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision avails, but faith working through love.

Paul sees clearly the danger in the gospel of freedom that he is preaching. Freedom from the law, means freedom from its moral commandments as from its ritual. He does not say the moral law of the Old Testament is still binding, and it is only the ritual law that is done away with. He does not count the Christian moral life one under law, but under freedom. Those who are controlled by the flesh need the law to restrain them, but those who walk by the Spirit will bear the Spirit's fruit—love, joy, peace, long suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control. Those who are of Christ Jesus, have crucified the flesh with its passions and, walking by the Spirit, need no restraint of law, for the things which they will do are those against which there is no law.

There is, however, a law of Christ; it is the command of mutual helpfulness, and Paul marks out very specifically the moral distinctions between the works of the flesh and the fruits of the Spirit, just now enumerated. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are: fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, parties, envy-

ings, drunkenness, revellings, and such like.⁶ The contrast is striking between Paul's sharp classification and the mixture of desires, good and bad undistinguished, of which the Roman satirist set himself to write, half a century later.

Whatever wild desires inflamed the heart,
Joy, Sorrow, Fear, Love, Hatred, Transport, Rage
Shall form the motley subject of my page.⁷

The conclusion of the Epistle to the Galatians, added in Paul's own hand, is in "large letters," a fact which has suggested to some that the "infirmity of the flesh" to which Paul refers on occasion might have been an affection of the eyes, so common in the countries about the eastern end of the Mediterranean; but the large letters may equally well be explained by the fact that Paul was supporting himself by long hours of manual labor.

At the close, Paul speaks plainly of the Judaizers who desire the Galatians to be circumcised in order to avoid persecution for the cross of Christ. Evidently he counts those who have misled the Galatians as Jewish Christians who have acted not on conviction, but on grounds of safety. All that matters, he tells them, is a new creature, not circumcision nor uncircumcision. As many as walk by this rule, peace upon them. Henceforth, let no man trouble me, for I bear branded on my body the marks of Jesus.

No record has been preserved of the reception of this burning letter by the churches of Galatia, but everything points to continued pastoral relations between them and Paul. He revisited them on his third missionary journey, and they had their part in the great contribution which he secured for the Jerusalem Church on that journey.

In the general outline of the epistle, the most noticeable

⁶ v. 19-21.

⁷ Juvenal, Satire I, 11, 138-9; Gifford's translation.

thing is the absence of those words of appreciation and thanksgiving with which Paul is wont to follow his opening salutation. In contrast to the Thessalonian epistles, as also to the later group of imprisonment letters, Galatians is known as one of the Paul's great doctrinal epistles. Under this category, I and II Corinthians and Romans are grouped with it. We found ourselves able to discover quite a little of Paul's doctrine from Thessalonians, but there was no such elaboration of his characteristic philosophy as in Galatians, except in the one matter of his doctrine of the parousia. This subject is noticeably absent from Galatians.

The differences in the themes of the correspondence with Thessalonica and Galatia is plainly determined by the circumstances and needs of the different recipients of the letters. It is evident that the Apostle is in neither case undertaking to set forth any complete system of doctrine, but is writing to meet the special needs of his churches, as occasion demands. As it happened, the peculiar need in Galatia concerned a great fundamental question which was to determine the whole life of Christianity as a distinct and separate religion.

Evidently Jesus' immediate followers had not apprehended that the Christian Church was to have a being separate from the Jewish Church. Probably they anticipated that the Jewish people would accept Jesus as the Messiah. If their thoughts went out to all the world in expectation that the Gentiles would also be saved, they must have expected that these would be brought in by a path similar to that followed by the proselytes entering Judaism, who adopted obedience to the ceremonial law along with recognition of the unseen God of righteousness. Even the great Apostolic leaders, Peter, John, and James, had no clear thought of a Christian body which would include Jew and Gentile in brotherly fellowship, unless the Gentile first became ceremonially clean under the Jewish ritual. Peter's

experience led him out into something of the larger conception, but, as we have seen, not clearly and consistently even at a date after the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem.

It was only after Paul had been laboring for years among the Gentiles, with the manifest blessing of the Spirit upon his work, that the pillar Apostles gave their sanction to that work, and even after that, Peter wavered and James was counted as in opposition. The rank and file of the mother Church never assented.

So far as our knowledge goes, Paul was the only man of the first Christian generation who clearly and consistently realized that the religion of Jesus and Jewish legalism were absolutely incompatible, that the Church could not remain half legalistic and half free. We may not wonder over much at this obtuseness of the early Jewish Christian Church, when we remember that, even under the masterly guidance of Paul, the overwhelming majority of Christians, through the centuries, have failed to realize that the Pauline life of faith and the life of religious legalism are incompatible. To the student of human nature, the marvel is not that Paul was the only one in the first generation to see that Christianity must be freed from the yoke of the law; the marvel is rather that anyone brought up in the Jewish religion of that day should have seen and maintained this with the clearness that Paul did.

He himself could account for the insight only as a direct revelation. The skill with which he was able to maintain his position in an argument, such as that of Galatians or Romans, is readily seen to be the fruit of his training at the feet of Gamaliel, developing the gifts of a superior intellectual and moral endowment. The fact that he had advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of his own age, before his conversion to Christianity, provided him with the weapons for the conflict. In this preparation, he could no doubt see the evidence that he had from birth been

separated and called of God for his peculiar mission; but the insight itself was to him direct revelation of Jesus Christ, given only when it was the good pleasure of God. Students of Greek literature note also that this epistle, as well as I Thessalonians, I Corinthians, and Philippians, is composed with a rhythmical flow, that recalls the methods of contemporary rhetorical prose and is due no doubt to Paul's early training in the schools.⁸

Looking back over the history, noting the obscure fate of the Jewish branch of the Christian Church, which maintained an insignificant existence for a few centuries and then disappeared altogether, it is easy now to see that the fate of Christianity rested upon the vision and courage of the Apostle Paul. Had the Judaizing Christians prevailed, as they did at least temporarily with Peter and Barnabas at Antioch, and with the Galatian churches in their early years, Christianity would have remained a sect of Judaism and could not have won its way throughout the Græco-Roman world. Again, as at Antioch, Paul alone saw the issue and knew that he had been separated from birth to preach Christ among the Gentiles and felt himself constrained to pronounce accursed anyone who should preach any other gospel to his Gentile converts.

What was this Gospel, as far as we may gather it from Galatians? It was the good news that man's justification before God is not the result of following the prescriptions of a code of laws, but is through faith in Jesus Christ. And what does Paul mean by faith in Jesus Christ? First, it is faith in one whom he counts the Son of God, one who loved Paul and gave himself unto the uttermost, even unto death, for him. It is thus faith in a person rather than a system of doctrine, although it is true that Paul's faith in the person involves for him certain beliefs about the person,

⁸ Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 88ff.

as that he is the Son of God. Faith is nevertheless for him predominantly a personal loyalty, instead of "the giving of substance to things hoped for, a conviction of things not seen," as it was to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews,⁹ or "the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints" for which Jude exhorted his readers to contend earnestly.¹⁰ Abraham's personal trust in God that led him to an obedient act is the quality that makes him the father of all that are of faith.

This personal loyalty is an attitude that manifests itself in a certain type of life; it is the free life of maturity in contrast to the restrained life of childhood lived under law. It is the life of sons who have a common father, a unified life with distinctions of race and sex obliterated. Faith is an active force that works in a particular sphere, that of love; neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith working through love. The life of faith, the life of walking by the Spirit, and the life of love are identified in the Epistle to the Galatians. In contrast to the life of obedience to the minutiae of the Jewish law, this life of faith is the life of freedom. Faith working through love, the Spirit led life, issues naturally in a course of conduct against which there is no law.

Paul's great doctrine of justification by faith rather than by works of the law leads directly to his ethical doctrine, the central principle of which appeared in Thessalonians as love manifesting itself in very practical ways for individual and social well-being. Paul tells the Galatians that the whole law is fulfilled in one word: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, and that to bear one another's burdens is to fulfill the law of Christ, not forgetting, as in Thessalonians also, the duty of each to bear his own burden. In his beautiful pictures of the life of mutual helpfulness, free from the individual and anti-

⁹ xi. 1.

¹⁰ Jude 3.

social vices of uncleanness, enmity, strife, revelling, Paul does not forget that the end can be attained only through the crucifixion of the flesh. Such crucifixion he has experienced, not through the hopeless method of a daily mortification of the flesh, but by the one great act of self-devotion that leads him to glory in the cross. Through this the world has been crucified unto him and he unto the world. Thus he is a new creation.

If II Thessalonians was written by Paul, it shows that his love for his converts was not of the soft sort which would suffer them to go on in courses leading to destruction, but that he could take stern action to meet a dangerous crisis. In Thessalonica the danger was industrial chaos through the too eager expectation of the second coming.

In Galatia the danger was the complete overthrow of the world-mission of the Church. Paul's words in this crisis are stern and cutting. Gratulation, condoning of error there is none; yet the breaking heart of the father is not wholly hidden in the exercise of the authority of the Divine commission under which he speaks. The Galatians have been disloyal and foolish, and he tells them so in no uncertain language. Yet each time he suggests that they have been led astray by selfish, designing persons, and once he breaks out into expressed longing to be with them and to change his tone; they are his children for whom he suffers until Christ is formed in them.

Paul's emotion is almost as intense as that of the prophet Hosea, but it does not, like Hosea's, express itself in constantly broken, almost incoherent speech. He carries through an orderly line of thought; false teaching must be met with clear-cut instruction. The argument is masterly, meeting rabbinical refinement with rabbinical subtlety, just enough to show that he can combat the argument of the legalist on his own ground. He uses, too, just enough of allegorical interpretation of Scripture to

show that that confusing weapon can be turned against his critics. But in the main he does not adopt the subtle refinements of the schools; rather he presents orderly, progressive thought, resting on solid fact and deep experience of life. By reason of its statement of facts, the Epistle to the Galatians stands out as one of the principal sources for the life of Paul and of the beginnings of Church history. It is also one of the fullest revelations of the personality of its writer in his rare combination of clear intellect with depth and intensity of emotion.

CHAPTER IX

THE EPHESUS MISSION—51 TO 55 A.D.

At the end of Paul's eighteen months' stay in Corinth, he was haled before the new Proconsul Gallio on a charge of teaching men to worship contrary to the law. This Gallio became Proconsul of the newly constituted Senatorial province of Achaia in the summer of 51 A.D. Brother of the famous Stoic philosopher Seneca, he was a man of high character, an honor to the Roman provincial government. As was to be expected with such a man, he summarily dismissed the charge against Paul, perceiving that its real animus was not care for the law of Rome, but for the Jewish religion.

After a little further stay in the city, Paul took ship from Cenchreæ, the Ægean port of Corinth, and crossed to Ephesus on his way back to Syria. With him were his early Corinthian hosts Priscilla and Aquila, who were removing to the Asiatic city. At Ephesus, Paul now found opportunity to preach in the synagogue. Urged to remain he felt, for some reason, that he must return to Antioch before undertaking a prolonged mission in Ephesus; so he took his leave, promising to come again if God permitted.

Returning to Palestine, they landed at Cæsarea "and went up and saluted the Church." This statement in Acts is often interpreted as meaning the Church of Jerusalem, but it is not probable that Paul visited Jerusalem at this time. It was presumably the Church of Cæsarea that he

greeted before making his way from the port at which his ship had landed up to Antioch.

After some little time in the city from which his great missionary journeys had started, he again turned westward to revisit his churches in Galatia and to fulfill his promise to the Ephesians. It is not improbable that one principal reason of his return to the East at this time was the revisitation of his Galatian disciples with whom he had longed to talk face to face when he was forced to write his epistle of stern rebuke. It may have seemed wise to him, for some reason, to return to Antioch before paying this new visit to the Galatians. We are left to speculate upon motives with little basis of fact, since the writer of Acts passes over the return to the East, the stay at Antioch, and the revisiting of Galatia, in the fewest possible words, and hurries on his narrative to Ephesus, and since also the epistles of Paul lack references to this time.

Paul's principal objective seems now to have been Ephesus, whither he may have been bound on his second missionary journey, when he was forbidden to preach the Gospel in Asia. As Corinth was the great port of transshipment between the Adriatic and the Ægean, Ephesus was the port of entry from the Ægean for the interior of Asia. The Corinth of Paul's day was, we saw, a new city, hardly older than Chicago today, occupied by a cosmopolitan population, Roman, Greek, Oriental. Ephesus had been for many centuries the meeting place of Greek and Oriental; its entire history has been characterized as a long struggle between Greek and Asiatic manners and religions. Its famous temple of Diana, counted one of the seven wonders of the world, had been rebuilt some four hundred years before Paul's visit. It stood apart on the open plain, about a mile distant from the hills on which the city itself was built. With its

double row of external columns, a hundred in number, each about fifty-six feet high, it must have been impressive in its very size; but far more than that, it came to be regarded as the most perfect model of Ionic architecture. The deity enshrined here, known to the Romans as Diana and to the Greeks as Artemis, was originally an Asiatic goddess of fertility and the productive power of the earth. Her first priestesses were supposed to be the Amazons, the mythical founders of the city.

In coming to Ephesus, Paul would find not only the varied population of a great, commercial city lying on the main route between East and West, but also a city peculiarly proud of its religious heritage, with its great and beautiful temple and image that was believed to have fallen down from heaven. The Ionic settlers had come, according to tradition, about the time that Saul and David were establishing the Hebrew monarchy. Finding here a deity who had certain points of contact with their own Artemis, they had adopted her worship and, to some extent, had Hellenized it, although they never succeeded in making it genuinely Greek. To this center of ancient worship, supported alike by Greek and Oriental, Paul came for a prolonged stay, on his so-called third missionary journey. We should like to know something of the details of the journey here from Antioch, especially of the reception given Paul in his Galatian churches, but of this we hear nothing in Acts. The writer is interested now in Ephesus and tells of something that had happened there since Paul stopped on his way from Corinth back to Syria. There had come to Ephesus another preacher, an Alexandrian Jew, learned in the Scriptures and an eloquent man. He had been fired by the work of John the Baptist, but did not know of the culmination of John's work in the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Whether he knew anything of the ministry of Jesus, the narrative does not make quite clear.

Fortunately he came into contact at Ephesus with Paul's early Corinthian converts, Priscilla and Aquila, who gave him sound Pauline instruction, so that when he passed over into Achaia, he went with the full approval and hearty commendation of the Ephesian Christians. Of his success at Corinth we shall hear more later; he had already gone there when Paul reached Ephesus.

Luke follows his account of Apollos with one in regard to Paul's finding certain Johannine disciples in Ephesus who did not know of the baptism of Jesus and the gift of the Spirit. He does not, however, suggest any necessary connection between these and Apollos. Perhaps it was just an interesting coincidence that these various followers of John the Baptist who were ignorant of the full ministry of Jesus were in Ephesus at about the same time. It is certainly interesting to learn that the influence which went out from the very popular ministry of John was spread abroad by those who did not come into contact with Jesus, or at least did not accept him as the Messiah, and that the followers of John who were met at Ephesus were so ready to take the further step of adopting the full Christian faith in the form that it was taught by Paul.

Having told us of the happy issue in reference to Apollos and the dozen other disciples of John, the writer of Acts speaks of a three months' ministry of Paul in the synagogue at Ephesus, followed by two years of preaching in the school of Tyrannus. This was evidently one of the places where philosophers were wont to teach in the city and where Paul might long be tolerated as one of the traveling teachers of which the Greek world was full. Whether or not Paul himself visited other cities in the province of Asia, it is clear that the influence of his work spread out from the metropolis. We know from his later letter to the Colossians that churches were established in the interior at Colosse and Laodicea, and that these two

cities had not been visited by Paul. From references in the Corinthian letters we learn that the stay in Ephesus was interrupted by a short trip to Corinth.

Among the heterogeneous elements met at Ephesus were some wandering Jewish exorcists, who sought a livelihood, as many of that day, by professing to cure demoniacal possession. Seeing the power of Paul working in the name of Jesus, these men undertook to use the name in their exorcism, with disastrous results to themselves. In connection with this incident, which turned out to the enhancement of Paul's reputation among the Ephesians, Luke takes occasion to speak of a ministry of healing on Paul's part during his Ephesian sojourn.

It was Paul's intention on completing his stay in Ephesus to revisit Macedonia and Achaia, and then to go with an offering from his Gentile churches to the Christians of Jerusalem. When he was at last upon the point of bringing to a close the Ephesian mission, the success of his labors had been so great that it had palpably affected the sales of the little silver shrines of Diana whose manufacture constituted a significant industry of the city. The result was a serious disturbance raised by a certain silversmith named Demetrius and his fellow craftsmen, who saw their business injured and appealed to local pride in their ancient temple and goddess to rouse the city and put an end to Paul's labors there. Not finding Paul, they seized two of his companions from Macedonia, Gaius and Aristarchus, and dragged them into the theatre.

Paul was disposed to face the mob, but the disciples and even some of the Roman officials who had become his friends restrained him. Certain Jews in the throng that was attracted to the theatre were quick to take advantage of the situation by putting forward one of their number to harangue the multitude. Whether he was expected to attack Paul and the Christian teaching or merely to dis-

avow Jewish responsibility was never known. The mob roused by devotion to the city's famous temple had no more patience to listen to a Jew than a Christian on that day, and the Jewish spokesman was howled down by the universal shouting of "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians," which was kept up for two hours. Then the Town Clerk succeeded in getting a hearing. He was an important official no doubt, and besides the crowd may have become somewhat weary with its shouting by this time. The clerk made a very skillful and quieting speech leading up to the proposition that if Demetrius and his fellow craftsmen had a case against any, they should bring it before the proper tribunal.

The narrative does not say whether any legal proceedings were instituted. After the disturbance had subsided, Paul called the disciples together and took his leave of them, preparatory to carrying out his purpose of going away to Macedonia and Achaia. He himself writes of having fought with wild beasts at Ephesus,¹ but this is in a letter written long before his departure from the city and, if the reference is to be understood as a literal condemnation to the arena, it must have occurred at an earlier date than the silversmiths' riot and not as the result of any legal condemnation following that.

To whatever external dangers Paul may have been exposed during his years at Ephesus, he was far more harassed by anxiety concerning his Corinthian Church in whose establishment he had spent so much time. During his stay at Ephesus he sent no fewer than three letters to Corinth, besides sending his helpers, Timothy and Titus, and paying a visit to the Church himself.

Of the first of these letters we know from a definite allusion in our I Corinthians.² It appears from this reference that Paul had occasion to write to the Corinthians

¹ I Cor. xv. 32.

² v. 9.

concerning their toleration of persons of immoral life within the Church. They misinterpreted Paul's warning, understanding him to mean that they must have no dealings with fornicators even outside of the church fellowship. It is possible that we have a fragment of this letter preserved in the composite epistle known to us as II Corinthians." The little section of II Corinthians, vi. 14-vii. 1, seems clearly out of place where it stands, interrupting as it does the thought of the context, while it would have been quite in place in such a letter as that referred to in I Corinthians v. 9.

The Corinthians replied to this letter,³ asking further instructions about social relations, whether they should marry and what should be the course of a Christian who was married to an unbeliever. Very possibly their letter included also inquiries as to what they should do about eating that which had been consecrated to idols. Aside from these inquiries, occasioned by the difficult social relations of a Christian church in a corrupt, pagan community, report had come to Paul as to the condition of the church in Corinth that caused him great anxiety. Already the spirit which has occasioned so many factional and denominational differences in the Christian Church in later centuries was appearing in Corinth. Some were declaring for Paul, some for Apollos, some for Cephas.⁴ Each as it seemed to Paul, putting the human agent whose function it was to plant or water, before the God who alone could give the increase. Nearly sixteen hundred years later, Pastor John Robinson bemoaned the fact, as he spoke to the Pilgrims departing from Leyden, that those who called themselves Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw, and that the Calvinists stuck fast where they were left by that great man of God.

Another report which had come to Paul was of an

³ I Cor. vii. 1.

⁴ i. 12.

incestuous relation tolerated within the Church, of a type that would be offensive even to the Gentiles. Other dangers threatening the peace and honor of the Corinthian Church were a litigious tendency, disorder at the Lord's table, confusion in the religious services caused by the desire of many to speak at the same time and "with tongues," and disbelief in the resurrection.

To meet these varied questions and grave derelictions, Paul wrote a second letter, our I Corinthians. To deal with the sad divisions in the Church, Paul sent Timothy, who had labored with him at Corinth, and promised to come himself if possible. Whether he should come with a rod or in gentleness would depend upon them.

Failing to compose the difficulties either by his wonderful letter or his representative, Paul was forced to pay a sorrowful visit to Corinth,⁵ on which occasion his authority was flouted,⁶ and again he wrote, this time with anguish of heart and many tears,⁷ a letter that made them at last sorry unto repentance.⁸ Of their repentance, however, Paul did not learn until his long stay in Ephesus had ended and he had proceeded to Macedonia, suffering great anxiety.⁹ The third letter to the Corinthians was evidently carried by Titus, who on his return from Corinth, met Paul in Macedonia. That portion of our II Corinthians contained in chapters x. 1-xiii. 10 is probably a part of this letter that was written in tears.

In connection with Paul's three years at Ephesus, we thus get glimpses of the way in which he carried the burdens of the Corinthian Church while laboring on the opposite shore of the Ægean. Probably he made his sorrowful visit by boat, sailing to Cenchreæ, a distance of about two hundred and forty miles. Of the experiences

⁵ II Cor. ii. 1; xii. 14.

⁶ II Cor. xii. 21; x. 10

⁷ II Cor. ii. 4.

⁸ II Cor. vii. 8-9.

⁹ II Cor. ii. 12-13; vii. 5.

of the voyage we have no knowledge either from Acts or Paul's letters. Was it on this trip that he had one of the three experiences of shipwreck met before he wrote II Corinthians xi. 25, and so before the wreck recorded in Acts xxvii? When Cicero made the voyage from Athens to Ephesus in the year 51 B.C., he styled the trip a great undertaking (*negotium magnum*) and had much to say of the crankiness of the open boats of Rhodes which he counted "poor things in a rough sea."¹⁰ He was so distressed, in fact, that he laid up at Delos, a hundred miles from Athens, to wait for fair weather, and the trip across to Ephesus took him sixteen days. Perhaps the boats were decked a hundred years later when Paul crossed over and back; perhaps he had fair winds; perhaps he suffered shipwreck. His extant letters do not concern themselves very much with the comforts or discomforts of travel, over which Cicero was so much exercised. In any case, we may feel quite confident that the Apostle, hastening to his distracted Church in Corinth, did not willingly tarry at Delos *en route* until he could "see 'all the peaks of Gyrae' clear," as did the great Proconsul going out to Cilicia and making much more ado over the horror of a year's absence from Rome than the Apostle over prisons, stripes, and shipwrecks.

Having labored three months in the synagogue, two years in the school of Tyrannus, and some months longer, perhaps, in a less public way, and having organized the evangelization of the rich and cultured province of Asia, Paul left Ephesus and passed through Troas into Macedonia, to revisit the churches he had founded some five or six years before. On his former journey he had come to the storied region of Troas not knowing whither he was going, and there, in the vision of the night, had received the call of the man of Macedonia.

¹⁰ *Ad Attico*, V, 12, 13.

On this second visit, it seems that Paul intended to labor for a time at Troas.¹¹ He had hoped to find Titus there with word from his mission to Corinth; not meeting him, he hastened across to Macedonia, where further outward conflicts added to the Apostle's inward distress of spirit. Then Titus met him with a favorable report of the penitence and loyalty of his Corinthian converts. He wrote the Corinthians a letter of complete reconciliation and sent Titus back to them to look after the completion of their contribution for the Jerusalem Church before he himself should come down again to Achaia.

When he did leave Macedonia on this journey, he felt that he had fully preached the Gospel from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum. As we noted before, it may be that on this second visit to Macedonia he was able to fill up the measure of his mission which had been cut short by Jewish persecution on the occasion of his earlier visit to the region. It was evidently in the late fall or early winter that Paul at length felt free to revisit Achaia. We have no record as to whether he again stopped in Athens, but he certainly carried out his delayed plan of visiting Corinth, and, in all, spent three months in the region before returning to Macedonia on his way to Jerusalem.

¹¹ II Cor. ii. 12.

CHAPTER X

THE TWO EARLIER CORINTHIAN EPISTLES

It was noted in the previous chapter that Paul wrote at least one letter to the Corinthians antedating "I Corinthians." If the stray fragment, II Corinthians vi. 14-vii. 1, is a bit of this letter, it dealt with the subject of mixed marriages as well as immorality within the Church. The two subjects must have been more or less closely interlocked in the practical problems of the Corinthian Christians. In this fragment, Paul condemns without reservation all marriage of a Christian with an unbeliever. He bases his attitude upon the thought that Christians are temples of the living God, where no idols have place, and supports his view with Old Testament promises of God's presence and Old Testament appeals for separation. The tone and matter of this fragment might easily account for the question in the letter from Corinth as to what should be the course of a Christian already married to an unbeliever.

Aside from the subjects of toleration of immoral persons within the Church and possibly marriage with non-Christians we do not know what subjects Paul discussed in the lost letter. Since he found it necessary to correct a misunderstanding of the first letter in his next epistle, we may infer that the matters of most significance in the former letter were more adequately treated in the next, and so the permanent value of the first was not such as to lead to its frequent copying and careful preservation.

The general circumstances which called forth the next letter, our I Corinthians, were quite different from the conditions which led to the writing of the Thessalonian epistles or that to the Galatians. Persecution in Thessalonica and an immediate expectation of the parousia, together with the high character which the Thessalonians had established for Christian love, shaped the contents of Paul's letters. In Galatia the hostile propaganda of certain Judaizers compelled Paul to defend his apostleship and led him to set forth his Gospel of salvation by faith rather than by the works of the law. Neither persecution, the parousia, nor legalism needed discussion for the Church of Corinth, yet the situation bristled with problems which called for careful elucidation by the spiritual father of the Corinthian Church. In several respects the conditions are startlingly similar to those which arise in the churches of today, so that I Corinthians sounds at times extremely modern in the problems it discusses.

Whether the Sosthenes whose name is associated with that of Paul in the salutation of the epistle is identical with the ruler of the synagogue at Corinth, mentioned in Acts, we cannot tell. If he is, then this synagogue official had become a convert to Christianity and had gone over to Ephesus as Priscilla and Aquila had done.

After the salutation and thanksgiving for the grace of God given the Corinthians in Christ Jesus so that they were enriched in Him, Paul immediately takes up the subject of the divisions in the Corinthian Church which have been reported to him by the household of a certain Chloe. The three parties, indicated as followers of Paul, Apollos, and Cephas, are reasonably intelligible. Paul had come to Corinth in much humility, determined to preach his Gospel of the crucified Christ in its simplicity. Apollos, taught by Paul's converts, had doubtless preached the essential Pauline doctrine, but his personality and mode

of speech were different from those of Paul, and some preferred his eloquence to Paul's simpler speech. The exact reason for the existence of a Cephas party is not so clear. It does not seem probable that Peter had himself visited Corinth, and the epistle does not indicate that any Judaistic teaching which might be supported by the name of Peter had appeared there. The most probable explanation is that Jewish Christians who owed their conversion to Peter, and were not of the narrowly Jewish type of the Galatian propagandists or those who came down from James to Antioch, had come to Corinth and had felt some superiority to the adherents of Paul and Apollos, as deriving their Christianity from one of the primitive Apostles. Or it may be that, without any direct contact with Peter, they regarded his authority as superior to that of Paul or Apollos and claimed to be his followers.

Whether or not there was a fourth party professing to be in some peculiar and superior way "of Christ" (i.12) has been much debated. In the climax of his denunciation of the party spirit, Paul suggests only three parties.¹ Some have gone so far as to believe that the phrase "but I of Christ," is no part of the original text, but a gloss.² If there are in our text of I Corinthians any later insertions, those words may easily be such. It is not difficult to imagine an early reader in sympathy with Paul's denunciation of party divisions, writing them upon the margin of his exemplar.

Paul would have all to be of Christ, but no one with a divisive sense of superiority because of the agent of his conversion. Is Christ divided? he cries out. Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized into the name of Paul? He had himself baptized almost none of them,

¹ I Cor. iii. 22f. See McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, pp. 295-6.

² See Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 113.

so that they could not say they were baptized into his name. His mission was to preach, not to baptize. His mention of preaching leads him to characterize his message as making the cross of Christ central, in contrast to the wisdom which the Greeks seek and the Messianic signs demanded by the Jews.

Paul's experience has made him keenly aware of the difficulties for both Greeks and Jews in accepting the Christian faith. In the breakdown of faith in the old Greek religion, the current philosophies had come to occupy themselves largely with the practical, ethical and religious questions, and the Greeks, accustomed to the philosophical presentation of morals and religion, felt a simple, positive presentation, like that of Paul, to be mere foolishness.

The Jews, who had not interpreted the Suffering Servant of the latter part of the Book of Isaiah as their Messiah, felt as strong a repulsion toward Paul's emphasis upon the cross as they had felt toward the Man of Sorrows when he walked on earth and refused to exhibit miraculous signs to prove his claims, and to undertake their deliverance from foreign rule. Paul realized the difficulty that each group experienced in accepting his message and felt that it was only those who were called of God who could respond; but his experience had taught him also that there was this third group made up of both Jews and Greeks.

With cutting sarcasm, Paul compares his despised condition with the self-satisfaction and conceit that lead to such party strifes as had appeared in Corinth. Then, with yearning tenderness, he assures the readers that he writes not to shame but to admonish them as his beloved children. Again, as when he wrote to his Galatian converts, Paul realized, "How sharper than a serpent's tooth is a thankless child." As a parent is the author of life, so Paul has begotten them into the new life that is in

Christ. Perhaps it is a misnomer to speak of Paul's "converts"; mere conversion, mere turning about, is not the Pauline conception of entering the Christian life. In his own case, it could only be described as a death and new birth, and in his stern and tender words to the Galatians and Corinthians alike we find that he believes the new birth theirs as well as his. In Galatians he is the mother once more in birth pangs of them because the new life has not yet been fully formed in them;³ in Corinthians, he is the father who through the Gospel begat them in Christ Jesus. Tutors innumerable, they may have, but not many fathers. As their father, he beseeches them to follow his example; in their erring need he has sent them Timothy, his beloved and faithful child in the Lord, to put them in remembrance of his ways which are in Christ. Soon he hopes to be able to come himself, with a father's gentleness, if they will; with a father's punitive authority, if they compel him.

Two other evils reported from the Church next occupy the Apostle's attention; first, the case of a man who had married his father's wife, and second, a litigious spirit. While they are puffed up in their self-satisfied discussion as to their superior merits as followers of Paul, Apollos, or Peter, they are bringing contempt upon their brotherhood among their pagan neighbors by tolerating such fornication as is not even among the Gentiles and by bringing their accusations of fraud against one another for settlement before the public courts. Fifty years later it would be a matter of note to Pliny the Younger that in the Christian fellowship men and women could meet together for a common meal, "yet innocently."⁴ In Corinth, three or four years after the organization of the Church, the Christians had not yet realized that the new life upon which they had entered demanded standards of sexual

³ Gal. iv. 19.

⁴ *Epistles*, X, 96.

morality, honesty, and forbearance within the brotherhood that should be not merely on a level with the best Gentile practice, but which should distinguish them as marked by new personal and social standards. They had misunderstood Paul's charge in his former letter to have no company with fornicators as meaning that they must attain an impossible separation from the world, and had entirely missed the point of his anxious care for purity within the Christian fellowship. To have no dealings with fornicators, covetous, or idolaters of the non-Christian community would necessitate going out of the world, and such separation Paul, like the Master, did not desire.

In writing to the Galatians the Apostle had recognized the danger inherent in his doctrine of liberty. Evidently that danger had found its full expression in Corinth: "All things are lawful for me," "meats for the belly and the belly for meats,"⁵ are very probably echoes of the Corinthians' own words which Paul throws back at them, with the addition, "but not all things are expedient," or, "but I will not be brought under the power of any;" or again, "but the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body." From their carnal interpretation of his lofty doctrine of freedom from the law, Paul calls upon them to rise to the realization of their unity with Christ, of whom their bodies are members—He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit; your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit; ye are not your own; ye were bought with a price.

With such splendid summing up of the new Christian solution of moral problems, Paul turns from the disquieting reports which have reached him in Ephesus to take up matters of which the Corinthians have written; marriage and celibacy, the use of food that has been consecrated to idols, and the conduct of public worship. Whether this

⁵ vi. 12-13.

third topic is one concerning which they have made inquiries is not wholly clear; in discussing it Paul refers to an unfavorable report that has come to him. Perhaps some of the subjects have been suggested by their letter and others by reports which have reached Paul.

Paul's own unmarried state might seem to put the stamp of his approval on celibacy. Since in other matters he appeals to his own life as an exemplification of Christian conduct, his practice in this also might readily be regarded as an example. In the Greek world where courtesans, concubines, and wives all had their recognized place, and no man thought of attaching shame or any moral condemnation to recognized connection with each,⁶ it is not strange that there should be confusion in the minds of those who had so recently adopted the new Way as to how far its requirements went in uprooting all their accustomed standards. Was marriage itself to be given up? If it were possible, Paul would prefer all to remain unmarried, but since this would surely lead to irregular relations, he sanctions strictly monogamous marriage—Let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband. In a land where "men would appear in the law-courts to contest the possession of a *hetaira*" such words of Paul would come as startling enough. Especially would this be so when, to this monogamous standard with the prohibition of all fornication, Paul added the strict law of the Lord against divorce. We recall that when Jesus uttered that command, his Jewish hearers felt that if marriage were thus indissoluble, it were better not to marry.⁷ In the Græco-Roman world of the first century A.D., the requirements would doubtless be even more unacceptable than in Galilee.

Aside from the one general command of Jesus concern-

⁶ Samuel Angus, *The Environment of Early Christianity*, pp. 44f.

⁷ Mt. xix. 10.

ing divorce, Paul finds himself obliged to meet the various aspects of the fundamental social problem, as it has arisen in Corinth, according to his own best judgment, in which he thinks he has the guidance of the Spirit, but does not absolutely claim such enlightenment.⁸ In the course of the discussion he makes it clear that he is acting upon the general principle that the existing social order is soon to come to an end,⁹ and that it is therefore better not to assume new relationships, but for each to remain in whatever economic and social status he was when called.¹⁰

One of the most difficult problems facing a church situated like that in Corinth was occasioned by the prevalence in the city of food that had been consecrated to an idol. Paul would not have the Christians separate themselves from table companionship with their old friends. From pagan religious feasts they must absent themselves, taking no part in idolatrous worship; but they might accept a dinner invitation from a friend and raise no question as to whether the meat served had been consecrated to a false god in its slaughtering and they might similarly buy meat in the public market, if they recognized that the idol god was nothing. So far, all is simple and clear, but Paul realizes that there may be those who cannot look at the matter in this sensible manner; to them the eating may be a recognition of the idol. If the question is raised by any such, and they are likely to be led astray, then it is the duty of the strong to refrain even from that which is harmless to themselves. Paul's own principle of conduct is not to assert the rights of his own liberty, but to forego his own rights, if thereby he may gain men. Every act is shaped by the one dominant motive—for the Gospel's sake.

As the Greek athlete who would win in the games must strive to the uttermost and must exercise complete self-

⁸ vii. 12, 40.

⁹ vii. 26, 29.

¹⁰ vii. 20ff.

control, so must the Christian shape his whole life to the one end. In quick imagination Paul is now himself participating in the contest. He is the runner with his eye on the goal and no uncertain step; he is the boxer aiming every blow definitely; and who is his antagonist? His own body has to be given the well directed, knockout blow.¹¹

Let no man dream that St. Paul was just a painted saint with flaccid body. He could tramp hundreds of miles over lofty mountains and through rushing streams. Stoning, flagellation, and shipwreck could not destroy his ability to travel and work at his trade and preach and write. The old ambitions had given place to new controlling motives in the experience on the road to Damascus. Paul had been crucified and raised with Christ, but this did not mean that the fight against the world and the flesh had ended—So fight I not as beating the air; but I give my body a knockout blow and bring it into subjection (literally, make it a slave). It is those of deepest spiritual life, a Plato or a Paul, who feel most keenly the downward pull of the flesh against the upward strivings of the spirit.

The letter passes to the discussion of the conduct of religious gatherings. As the Corinthians had carried the principle that all things are lawful, to an extreme that was bound to bring reproach upon them, so they have carried Paul's principle that in Christ there is neither male nor female to a practical expression that is likely to bring further ill-repute upon their fellowship. Women were speaking and praying in their gatherings unveiled. In view of the social customs of Corinth, we can readily apply the Pauline principle that what is lawful may not be

¹¹The word in ix. 27 translated "keep under" (Am. Standard Version, "buffet" or "bruise") is a denominative verb from the compound noun meaning the part of the face below the eye; the verb means etymologically "to hit under the eye."

expedient. To be unveiled in public was for a woman to bring scandalous report upon herself. Had Paul argued along that line, it would not be difficult to follow him even today, but he had not, it would seem, carried out his principle of the disappearance of woman's subordination to any such degree as has been done in modern England and America. To him it was just a shameful thing, contrary to the order of nature and the good custom of the Church, for a woman to appear unveiled and thus speak and pray. He will not even discuss the subject at length. Probably no part of Paul's writings has brought upon him so much criticism in modern times as the brief sections which deal with the subject of women's participation in the Church meetings, and we are forced to admit that his argument on the subject is less cogent than upon most of the practical problems with which he deals in his epistles.

The next aspect of the religious gatherings of the Corinthians to be considered is the Lord's supper. As observed in Corinth, this was evidently a real supper, not simply a symbolic tasting of the bread and wine. In the effort to satisfy greedy appetites they had turned it into a disgraceful struggle, in which some were left hungry and others became drunken. Their conduct was selfish and indicative of contempt for the Church; let them satisfy their appetite at home, Paul enjoins them. From sharp rebuke he passes to an almost lyric narrative of the institution of the supper, so beautiful in its description of the solemn occasion that it has been generally adopted for recital in our churches, in preference to the records in the Gospels. The account leads up to the significance of the supper and the consequent conclusion that one who partakes in an unworthy manner is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. The narrative of institution of the supper contains no allusion to the actual meal which, we know from the Gospels, Jesus and his disciples had eaten

together, before he performed the symbolic acts upon which Paul lays all his stress.

As the supper was made a scramble for food and drink, so the time for prayer and speech in the congregation was turned into a confused struggle to exhibit spiritual gifts, of which the gift of tongues was evidently the most prized.¹² From this account, it would appear that the one who spoke with a tongue did not himself know the meaning of the sounds he uttered. Some parts of the description suggest the meaningless succession of sounds which break from the lips of hysterical enthusiasts on occasions of emotional, revivalistic gatherings among the most ignorant today. Yet, at some points, Paul seems to treat the sounds as possibly capable of interpretation; unless such interpretation is made, he charges silence. The value of speech is its edifying quality, and unintelligible sound does not upbuild or instruct another. In any case, let there be decent orderly waiting, each his opportunity and no babel of sounds with many trying to be heard at once.

In the midst of this homely discussion of crude and selfish practices, come two of the most notable passages in early Christian literature: Paul's description of the Church as the body of Christ, many members with differing functions, and his great hymn of Christian love. Selfish rivalry in seeking to exhibit the most esteemed spiritual gifts calls forth these great utterances. There are diversities of gifts; some are apostles, some prophets, teachers, workers of powers, healers, speakers in tongues, interpreters—each has his proper place in the body. It is fitting to desire the greater gifts, but the most excellent way is the path of that Christian love without which all other gifts are empty, a path in which selfish rivalry for precedence cannot appear. Of Paul's description of this path it has been said: "Since the hymn of Cleanthes nothing at once so heartfelt

¹² See also Chapter III, pp. 52f.

and magnificent had been written in Greek as Paul's hymn of love." Cleanthes's supreme expression of the religious and ethical spirit of Stoicism, beginning:

Most glorious of Immortals, mighty God,
Invoked by many a name, O sovran King
Of universal Nature, piloting
This world in harmony with Law——

was, as we have seen, echoed in Paul's speech on Mars Hill. Its chief emotion is called forth by the contemplation of the Universal Reason manifest in the order of the world. Its condemnation falls upon those who:

Mark not nor hear the law of God, by wise
Obedience unto which they might attain
A nobler life with Reason harmonised.
But now, unbid, they pass on divers paths.
Each his own way, yet knowing not the truth—
Some in unlovely striving for renown,
Some bent on lawless gains, on pleasure some,
Working their own undoing, self-deceived.

For cure of the unlovely striving of the self-deceived, Cleanthes prays that mankind may be saved from grievous ignorance:

O Thou most bounteous God that sittest throned
In clouds, the Lord of lightning, save mankind
From grievous ignorance! Oh, scatter it
Far from their souls, and grant them to achieve
True knowledge.¹³

Paul's hope for the release of mankind from unlovely striving is in that Love which suffereth long and is kind; which envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own. In this attitude of good will he finds the universal law of God for mankind.

¹³ Translation of E. H. Blakeney.

Rich as is the English vocabulary, it has no single word to translate the "Love" of which Paul speaks. The Latin *Caritas* was used and this passed into the King James version as "Charity." Perhaps that is still the best word; but, in common speech it has come to be so generally identified with alms that the Revisers have justification for their substitution of "Love." That does not, however, very accurately express the Greek word used, which comes from a root meaning to "esteem" and to "wish well." It was because this rarely used Greek word expressed love with moral and intellectual quality, in distinction from natural, emotional or lustful love, that the early Christians could use it for the love to God and man which Jesus taught. Since we have no one English word with the same connotation, we can adequately translate its New Testament use only with a biverbal phrase such as "Christian love," but such cumbrous translation would spoil Paul's hymn for the ear and eye, and we must choose either "Charity" or "Love."

Like Paul, Cleanthes was born in Asia Minor, and, if the tradition be true, he was once haled to Mars Hill, where Paul stood three centuries later. Even after he had succeeded Zeno as the head of the Stoic school, he continued to support himself by the labor of his hands, working night and day that he might be a burden to none. Cleanthes and Paul rise like rugged, towering peaks, the one at the close of the great era of Greek literature, the other at the beginning of Christian literature, and they resembled each other quite as much in spirit as in the fortuitous parallels of their experiences; Cleanthes, it may be, would have welcomed the heavenly vision that was given to Paul.

Having dealt with the three abuses that had appeared in connection with the meetings of the Corinthian congregation, Paul turned to quite a different need. Among the Thessalonians there was perplexity because some had

died and it was feared that they could not share in the glories of the parousia of the Lord; in Corinth there were some who said that there was no resurrection of the dead. It was not easy for Greeks fully to accept the belief in a resurrection, a belief which had come to Paul as a part of the faith of the Pharisees in which he had been educated. The immortality of the soul was a concept of the highest philosophical thought of Greeks, and a shadowy life in the nether world was a part of the old popular faith; but these differed from the Jewish idea of a resurrection which Paul had inherited.

The experience on the road to Damascus had served at once to make the resurrection of Jesus basic and central in his Gospel and, in some measure it may be, to spiritualize his conception of the resurrection life. He reminds the Corinthians that Jesus' death, burial, and resurrection was the Gospel which he had preached to them and they had believed. From the basic fact of the resurrection of Jesus, which they have accepted, he argues that it is unreasonable for any of them to say that there is no resurrection. If the dead are not raised, Christ has not been raised and their experience of redemption is naught.

The Greek difficulty of the resurrection of the body, Paul meets with his great analogy of the resurrection of the bare seed-grain with its new body, different from that of all other grains, and so passes on to the thought of celestial bodies in contrast to the earthly, and once again rises to lyric utterance as he contrasts the birth of the natural body with the spiritual. The appropriateness of this analogy for Greeks has been suggested in a previous chapter where allusion was made to the Eleusinian mysteries. Through the centuries the noble words of Paul have been read at the Christian burial services and, as on wings of song, have lifted those who still dwell in the flesh to heavenly visions. The testimony of the primitive Apostles

and the meeting on the road to Damascus had given Paul complete confirmation of his resurrection belief, but had so spiritualized that faith that he could not hold any thought of this corruptible and corrupting flesh inheriting the kingdom of God.

From words of almost cold, scientific temper in which he states the impossibility of flesh and blood inheriting the kingdom, he rises to the faith of incorruption and immortality in another of his rapturous songs that lifts the spirit from the contemplation of sin and death to thanksgiving for the eternal victory through Christ, and then concludes with moving appeal for steadfastness and abounding labor in the Lord.

After this splendid climax, I Corinthians closes with instructions and plans concerning the collection for the Jerusalem Church, information as to Paul's own plans, and various charges and greetings.

It is the opinion of Moffatt that such epistolary homilies as Galatians, I Corinthians, and I Peter must have been widely copied and distributed, so that they became almost tracts or pamphlets, rather than letters.¹⁴ I Peter is addressed to the Christians scattered through the provinces of Asia Minor, while Galatians and I Corinthians are addressed to the definite needs of specific churches; it is difficult to believe that the people concerned would care immediately to spread abroad knowledge of their mistakes and sins with which Paul had dealt so severely. On the other hand, we have seen that Paul has discussed the local difficulties from the standpoint of such broad and fundamental principles that the letters have the universal quality of world-literature, and we have noted that the clear thought, fused with lofty emotion, and expressed often with lyric beauty, fulfills all the other requirements of

¹⁴ James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 52.

great literature. Paul surely had no thought of composing "literary epistles," to be immediately copied and scattered broadcast; but, if they were thus sent forth from the churches of Galatia and Corinth, soon after their receipt, it is to the credit of the early Christians who perceived their wider value as no mere diatribes against local abuses.

We may question whether there can be found in all literature another such group of passages of supreme beauty and universal value, called forth by such a realistic sense of the selfishness and vileness of human life, as is found in Paul's great letter to the Corinthians. The party divisions and selfish rivalries occasion Paul's words concerning lawfulness and expediency, the Church as the body of Christ, and love as the most excellent way. Toleration of carnal lust gave occasion for the figure of the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit. Abuse of the Lord's table led to the description of the institution of the memorial supper, and finally their denial of the resurrection faith gave Paul reason for recounting the resurrection appearances of Jesus and led him on to his supreme statement of death's defeat.

When considering the universal value of this epistle, it is of interest to note that the accounts of the institution of the Supper and of the resurrection appearances afford historical testimony for these great matters independent of that in the Gospels and coming down to us in writings composed earlier than any of our four Gospels. When Paul wrote these accounts and sent them from Ephesus across to Corinth, less than twenty-five years had elapsed since the events he was recording. Probably most of the participants in the last supper and, by Paul's own words, the majority of the witnesses of the resurrection appearances were still living. With Peter, great witness for both, we recall that Paul had early spent fifteen days of personal intercourse at Jerusalem. It was the sad need

of the ignorant, conceited congregation, gathered only three or four years before amid the vile life of Corinth, to which Paul was addressing himself when he wrote these passages of supreme value. Rebuke there is, but far more of lofty appeal and winsome truth, with faith too in his spiritual children who have been called into the fellowship of the Son, and faith in Jesus Christ who shall confirm them unto the end, unreprouvable in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XI

THE TWO LATER CORINTHIAN EPISTLES

Profoundly as Paul's great epistle has influenced subsequent generations, it failed to bring the party rivalries in Corinth to an immediate end. Rather, conditions appeared worse by the open flouting of Paul's apostleship. The visit of Timothy and Paul's own sorrowful visit both failed as signally as the letter had. Indeed the Apostle's bodily presence and speech were scorned by his opponents as being far less weighty and strong than his letters.¹ It was out of much affliction and anguish of heart² that he wrote the letter of self-defence, of which we have a part at least preserved in chapters x-xiii of our II Corinthians.

In writing to the Galatians, Paul had set forth in an orderly way the great steps by which he had been called to his direct apostleship. There he was meeting the attempted overthrow of his Gospel of freedom by those who maintained the superior authority of their Jewish, legalistic Christianity. In Corinth there seems to have been no such logical attack upon Pauline Christianity; instead, the whims of individual preference for this or that preacher, and now, demagogic attacks by rival teachers who have recently come to Corinth making great claims for themselves.³ Apparently these men are using their self-claimed office as a means of livelihood and have turned Paul's financial independence into an argument against his

¹ II Cor. x. 10.

² II Cor. ii. 4.

³ II Cor. x. 12. Cf. McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 295.

apostleship, suggesting that he had not dared to receive the support that would have been due him if he had been an Apostle;⁴ or again, accusing him of refusing support in order craftily to capture the Corinthians.⁵

Self-defence to his own spiritual children and against such creatures is most humiliating to Paul, but foolish as it makes him feel, he is forced to exalt his own authority as a teacher of the true Gospel of Christ, not for the sake of excusing himself unto them, but for their safety and upbuilding. He fears the preaching of another Jesus, a different Spirit, and another Gospel than the simple one which he had determined to know among them.⁶ He fears also that turning from his leadership, they may turn away from the standards of moral growth on which he has insisted so uncompromisingly.⁷ For their sakes he must maintain his moral and spiritual authority. The force which he uses is not material, but spiritual, bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.⁸

His rivals have accused him of going beyond his proper territory in coming to Corinth, but his authority is that of the pioneer who breaks new ground and does not, like his critics, come in to get easy glory where another has done the first hard work. If the ground which he has planted bears the true fruit of faith, as he anticipates, then he can go on to new regions even beyond Corinth.

We find implicit in Paul's discussion of his province, in II Corinthians x. 13-18, fundamental principles on which he rests his missionary activity and claim of right to preach and enforce his interpretation of the Gospel.

First, he goes where other Christian teachers have not yet come. He is insistent that where he has founded a church, others shall not come in and claim authority to change his teaching; we shall find him when he writes to

⁴ II Cor. xi. 7, 12, 13.

⁵ xii. 16.

⁶ xi. 4.

⁷ xii. 19-21.

⁸ x. 3, 5.

the Roman Church, scrupulous in avoiding any claim to authority over a congregation which has been organized by others.

Second, his authority is that which Jesus had sanctioned, the fruits of his teaching.⁹ On this basis his early years of ministry had been approved by the primitive Apostles, and he had been given the right hand of fellowship to go on with his Gentile mission.¹⁰ Now, as his authority is flouted in Corinth, he yet dares hope that the fruits even here will approve his ministry and that, as their faith grows, he will be magnified to go to regions still beyond. His ministry is further attested by the sufferings and vicissitudes through which he has passed in persecution and through the hardships and dangers of travel.

An attestation which would appeal more strongly to the temper of the Corinthians was his vision experience. They counted superior to all other spiritual gifts the ability to get into an ecstatic state as manifested in the gift of tongues. Paul had told them in his previous letter that he excelled in that gift and now, when forced to defend his apostleship, he refers to a remarkable experience when, in a state of ecstasy, he had felt himself caught up into Paradise where he had heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter.

Of such visions and revelations Paul does not often speak, nor apparently were they a frequent experience with him, this one had occurred fourteen years before, during the period of his early missionary labors in Syria and Cilicia. He feels the great danger of taking pride in such experiences and counts some malady which afflicted him as sent to keep him humble; through this he had learned that God's power is made perfect in weakness. Vision experience, as we see in the case of the Old Testament prophets, is characteristic of great religious leaders, but

⁹ Mt. vii. 20.

¹⁰ Gal. ii. 7-9, Acts xv. 6-19.

it is not a constant or frequent experience with those who have added the most to the religious interpretation of life. A sense of constant dependence upon Divine support and guidance is theirs, but not frequent ecstatic vision.¹¹ Like the greatest of Hebrew prophets, Paul was much more constantly occupied with the practical, moral applications of religious faith and experience than with their mystic aspects.

For Paul to set forth his credentials of fruits, sufferings, vision experiences, and the further signs of an Apostle wrought among them in wonders and mighty works,¹² makes him feel supremely foolish. He cannot get away from the feeling very long as he writes of these things.¹³

It seems almost by accident that any part of this very personal letter survived, copied at the end of a later epistle. Perhaps this happened in the first instance because there was some blank papyrus left that it seemed a pity to waste. How much more there may have been originally in this third letter to the Corinthians it is impossible to say. Certainly its epistolary beginning is omitted and very probably its conclusion, if, as is reasonably inferred, verses 11-14 of the last chapter of II Corinthians have been transferred from the end of chapter ix where they formed the conclusion of the fourth letter. Its present beginning "Now I Paul myself," has suggested to some that this material was originally an addition to a letter written by others or, more probably, that an earlier part had been written jointly in the name of Paul and Timothy and that then Paul himself added this exceedingly personal section.

Concerning all this, we can only conjecture, but few results of literary criticism are more certain than the

¹¹ Cf. H. T. Fowler, *A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel*, p. 141.

¹² xii. 12.

¹³ xi. 1, 16, 17; xii. 11.

conclusion that in II Corinthians x. 1-xiii. 10 we have a part of the third letter which Paul wrote to the Corinthians. It is almost impossible to believe that these chapters were written after II Corinthians i-ix, when Paul had received from Titus such a heartening report of the now penitent and loyal attitude of the Corinthians.¹⁴ Foolish as he felt in writing and sorry as he felt for a time that he had written, his regret was removed when he saw that by the letter the sorrow which he had caused them was unto repentance, for Godly sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation which bringeth no regret.¹⁵

For the sake of his erring children, Paul had been willing to humble himself by defending his apostolic claims against the wretched detractors whom he counted false apostles, deceitful workers.¹⁶ While we may believe therefore that it would have been his natural preference to have this epistle destroyed, we feel that he would have been willing to have his "foolish glorying" handed down through the centuries, if he had realized that it would be for the "edifying" of future generations as it proved to be for the first Christian generation. We may well rejoice that some early Christian copied this part of Paul's third Corinthian letter at the end of his copy of the joyous fourth letter, and so preserved it.

Not only should we lack some of our most important biographical data, but we should lack also some most important insights into the inspiring personality of the greatest Apostle, if this writing had disappeared as completely as the first letter to the Corinthians. Of the two epistles in which Paul is forced to defend his apostleship and bitterly to rebuke his spiritual children, Galatians shows us a less human Paul. There, it is true, his sternness is tempered by outbursts of yearning love, but the figure that stands forth is so majestic that we can hardly come close.

¹⁴ II Cor. vii. 6-7.¹⁵ II Cor. vii. 8-10.¹⁶ xi. 13.

To the Corinthians we find Paul opening his inmost heart and telling that which is too sacred to be told, because he must to save them. We find, too, his hesitancy and uncertainty in thus exposing the most sacred recesses of his experience and knowledge of himself.

Great human personalities cannot touch our little souls to the uttermost except as we can come to know something of their strength perfected in their weakness. Our own Washington, baronial planter, undisputed master of men on the field of defeat or victory and in the halls of State, stands before us as pictured in Stuart's pigments, or carved in Houdon's marble, almost too perfect of form, too calm of mien to touch our hearts; but when we read his intimate letters to his brother, written out of the darkest days of war, and see through what anguish of doubt and fear he labored on, then he comes close and inspires to new effort, yes, calls forth new admiration. Would the Cross itself have had such drawing power without the recorded cry of anguish? The writer of Hebrews saw truly that the Son himself could become the great high priest of tempted humanity only as he was made perfect through sufferings.

The Paul whom we find in these chapters with their unlogical interplay of self-appreciation, scorn of detractors, and sarcasm, now cutting, now almost playful, written under the compulsion of love, and above all, written with such a sense of foolishness, the Paul whom we find in these, comes close to our hearts; we note also that it was this letter which won the Corinthians from their obdurate erring, rather than the superb appeals of the previous epistle.

When Titus met Paul in Macedonia, he found the Apostle in sore perplexity. He had been compelled to flee from Ephesus; in Macedonia, whence he had been driven out by persecution on his former visit, he was now again in the midst of conflicts; whether he might go on to Corinth

and be received in peace by his own converts he did not know. The bitter letter which he had sent before leaving Ephesus, if it had failed to bring repentance, must certainly have widened the breach. When Titus did not meet him in Troas, Paul had no relief for his spirit, and now in Macedonia, his inward fears were no less harassing than the outward fightings he had encountered. In the rebound of spirit when his trusted representative rejoined him with news of their penitence and longing, Paul wrote his fourth letter to the Corinthians.

The first note of the new letter is that of Isaiah xl, comfort. After the formal salutation and pronouncement of grace and peace from himself and Timothy to the Church at Corinth and all the saints of Achaia, the letter breaks immediately into a pæan of praise of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and God of all comfort. Over and over again this word comfort occurs: his comfort from God in the midst of affliction, comfort of the afflicted through him, comfort abounding through Christ. The mention of affliction leads Paul to speak of recent deliverance from what seemed certain death in Ephesus, but only as the basis of hope in Divine deliverance and fellowship through the supplication of the Corinthians on his behalf.

Thus from comfort in affliction he is led out into thoughts of hope and fellowship in mutual confidence. In such confidence he had thought to come directly from Ephesus to Corinth and then to visit Macedonia and return to Corinth.¹⁷ His change of plan may have seemed fickle, but it was due to the fact that they had not yet returned to their loyalty, and he was unwilling to visit them a second time in sorrow.¹⁸

Now that they have vindicated their love in punishing a prominent opponent of Paul they may well forgive him;

¹⁷ II Cor. i; 15-16.

¹⁸ *ibid.* 1.

and Paul too will forgive him for their sakes. It is not well to drive the offender to despair and thus give advantage to Satan. The unity of the Corinthian Church which had caused Paul so much anxiety when he wrote I Corinthians, a year before, is still his care. For a moment he turns back to his time of anxiety, only to burst forth in thanksgiving to God who had vindicated the ministry of himself and his co-workers by making the knowledge of Christ to rise as incense in every place, through them. Recalling the time when he had been forced to write a letter of self-commendation and the fact that his opponents had come to Corinth with letters of commendation, his figure to express the proof of his ministry changes from incense to epistles. The Corinthians are a veritable epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not like the old law on tables of stone, but in hearts of flesh.

So Paul's mind released from its anxiety lest all his long labors in Corinth had come to naught, passes on to a consideration of the nature of his ministry in relation to the old covenant. He feels that now God had vindicated the ministry, making him and his associates agents of a new covenant of the life-giving spirit, in contrast to the old, binding law with its sentence of death. The scene of Moses coming down from the mount with the tables of the law flashes before his mind. His face shone so that the people could not look steadfastly upon it, yet that was a glory which was to pass away, but this ministry of the Spirit is to remain; with such hope we use great boldness of speech. There is no veil for us as there was for Moses, who veiled the passing glory.

Even to the present day, there rests a veil upon the heart of the Children of Israel who do not see that the glory of the old covenant has passed away in Christ; when one turns to him the veil is removed. The Lord is the Spirit;

where the Spirit of the Lord is, instead of legal restriction, there is liberty. But we all, beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord, the Spirit.¹⁹ With such a glorious ministry given us, we cannot faint, nor can we deal craftily, nor handle the word of God deceitfully; but rather we commend ourselves to every man's conscience by showing forth the truth.

The false apostles had charged Paul, we recall, with using craft. The conscience of the Corinthians has now been awakened to the recognition of the truth. Yet it may be objected by some that his Gospel is veiled. Yes it is, he sadly recognizes, to those who are blinded by the god of this world, so that the light of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, does not dawn for them. It is Christ as Lord that we preach; the God who said: Let there be light, has given the knowledge of His glory in the face of Jesus Christ.

More than forty years after Paul wrote thus, the author of the Fourth Gospel set forth much more fully the conception of Christ as the image of God and as a light shining in the darkness which comprehends it not.

In one of his previous epistles to the Corinthians, Paul had balanced his glorying in the exceeding greatness of the revelations granted him with the thought of the thorn in the flesh that led him to know God's power as made perfect in weakness. So now as he contemplates the truth ministered through him as a revelation greater than that given through Moses, he checks himself with the thought that we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the exceeding greatness of the power may be of God and not from ourselves. Persecution, loneliness, physical decay restrain self-confidence, but do not bring despair, for all these work an eternal weight of glory, when we shall

¹⁹ *iii.* 12-18.

escape from the burden and sorrow of the flesh to be with the Lord.

In view of these things, we live as before God; our exaltation of spirit is unto him, our sober thought for you. Any man who is in Christ is a new creation, and all things are of God who reconciled us to himself through Christ and gave us the ministry of reconciliation, namely that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself. This message of reconciliation he has given to us. So we speak as ambassadors of God on behalf of Christ, appealing to you to be reconciled to God. Our mouth and heart are opened to you; open your hearts to us. I glory on your behalf; I am comforted and overflow with joy.

This comfort and joy is due to the coming of Titus, who was comforted by them and brought the message of their repentance and longing. With a great sweep, full circle, Paul's joyous rebound from profound depression has carried him through an overwhelming realization of the wonder of his ministry of the new covenant in Christ, back to rest in a deep sense of comfort and joy, as they and Titus and he are united in common affection and trust.

An opportunity for giving a practical demonstration of the earnestness of their love is to be found in the completion, before Paul reaches Corinth, of their contribution for the Jerusalem Church. Of this contribution, Paul had written in I Corinthians and in consequence they had taken the work in hand a year before. Titus, who returns to them with this letter, will take charge of the matter, and with him comes another Christian brother, who has been appointed by the churches to travel with Paul and his associates in connection with the collection. Paul had had this appointment made in order that there should be no possible suspicion of any misappropriation of the funds. The Corinthians had shown readiness to share generously in the gift when the subject was first presented to them,

and this zeal on their part had been a stimulus to some in Macedonia, where the people have now contributed beyond their means. A ready spirit, however, does not ordinarily bring adequate results in the contribution of funds unless someone looks after the matter, therefore Paul sent Titus and the other, that he, not to say the Corinthians, may not be embarrassed by their having failed fully to carry out their good intentions by the time of his arrival, when possibly some Macedonians will come with him. This willing contribution, in addition to its immediate purpose of relieving the necessities of the poor of the Jerusalem Church, will be a great source of thanksgiving and praise to God, while the hearts of the Jerusalem Christians are united to you in prayer on your behalf.

Such was Paul's high hope for a union of spirit between the Greek and Jerusalem churches. That the Gentile converts should remember the poor was the one stipulation of James, Cephas, and John when Paul went up to Jerusalem and laid before them the Gospel that he had preached among the Gentiles. No wonder that he himself was zealous to realize their hopes with a great offering and believed that such tangible proof of the sincerity of the Greek Christians would unite the hearts of the Jerusalem Christians to theirs.

The closing verses of chapter xiii make a fitting conclusion for this epistle of fellowship and comfort: Be perfected; be comforted; be of the same mind, he writes. The storm has raged, but Paul's faith in God and his Gospel and in the ultimate restoration of his Corinthian children to the path of peace has brought calm.

CHAPTER XII

EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

During the three months spent in Achaia after the Ephesian ministry, Paul wrote the longest and most elaborate of his epistles. It has far less of the character of a personal letter than any other even of his "great doctrinal epistles." Written to churches which he had himself founded, the epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians arose directly out of knowledge which had come to him, either by letter or report, of the particular conditions existing at the moment. The greatest of the doctrinal epistles, on the contrary, was written to a community which Paul had never visited and of whose immediate conditions and needs he probably knew only in a general way.

When the Apostle wrote I Corinthians, he was planning to leave Ephesus in the late spring, to come to Corinth by way of Macedonia, and to remain there for some months. Beyond that his plans were uncertain;¹ possibly he would go to Jerusalem;² but he may already have had Rome in his mind as an alternative to another Jerusalem visit. At any rate, when he wrote to the Roman Christians from Corinth, he had for many years greatly desired to visit them.³ Now that his work in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia was nearing completion, it would seem that his long cherished desire might be realized. He has fully preached the Gospel of Christ from Jerusalem round about even unto Illyricum,⁴ that is, to the borders of the district

¹ I Cor. xvi. 5-8. ² I Cor. xvi. 3-4. ³ Rom. xv. 23. ⁴ xv. 19.

on the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic, facing toward Italy. His thoughts and desires reach out to Rome and beyond, to the westernmost limits of the Mediterranean world in Spain. Rome would not need him long; the Church was already established there and, as we have seen, Paul had no desire to build on the foundations of others. It would be a noble work to carry the Gospel to Spain. The vessels were sailing constantly from Corinth across to Italy. How comparatively easy to go over to Rome, there to impart some spiritual gift to the Christian community, to be mutually comforted, each by the other's faith, and then to be brought on his way from the imperial Capital as he goes to distant Spain! Only a few more than a score of years have elapsed since Paul's conversion; what an achievement, within little more than two decades, fully to preach the Gospel from Jerusalem round about even unto Lusitania, preaching not where Christ was already named! How those ships sailing out to the westward through the beautiful Corinthian gulf must have drawn Paul almost irresistibly toward the realization of his splendid hope!

But there lay before him a more difficult and dangerous mission; if he could accomplish it successfully, it would be a more important achievement than the other. He must turn back to Jerusalem to minister unto the saints, for it had been the good pleasure of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor among the saints that were at Jerusalem.⁵ A year before Paul had not been certain that it would be meet for him to go with the representatives of the churches who bore ⁶ this precious offering, which might serve to unite the separate branches of the Church. In the meantime his duty had become clear to him—I go unto Jerusalem. So the best he could do was to write a letter to Rome telling of his desires and

⁵ xv. 26.

⁶ I Cor. xvi. 4.

plans and setting forth in order his Gospel of salvation, to prepare the way for a future visit.

We do not know when or how Christianity had come to Rome, but it certainly had become established there before Paul wrote from Corinth on his second visit to the Achaian metropolis. At the time of Paul's earlier visit, Claudius had recently ordered the Jews from Rome,⁷ but when Paul wrote there were evidently Jewish Christians there, although the Roman Church was predominantly Gentile. It may have been some obscure believers who, moving about in the course of their ordinary business, came to Rome and became the nucleus of the Church in the eternal city. It would seem that the founder or founders could not have come directly from any of the churches which Paul had established, since he is so careful to disclaim any intention of assuming spiritual authority.

At some time since Paul's conversion, the Church in Rome had begun its history, and this fact placed the Apostle to the Gentiles in a delicate position. One who was willing to risk and sacrifice so much to secure the unity of mutual fellowship between his churches and the Jerusalem Church must have been eager indeed to have a unified fellowship in the whole series of Gentile churches from Antioch to Spain, but here at the center of the line was the Roman Church which might or might not accept the essential points of his Gospel. Bitter experience in Galatia and Corinth had taught him the main things in which his Gospel might be misunderstood or opposed. While delaying his visit to Rome, he wrote at length establishing personal relations, but chiefly setting forth in order the central elements of his doctrine in such a way as to guard against certain misapprehensions and to oppose certain evils.⁸

⁷ Acts xviii. 2.

⁸ See McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 327.

After an unusually long epistolary introduction and an explanation of his desire to visit them, Paul passes quickly to his presentation of the Gospel, which is the power of God unto the salvation of all who believe, whether Jews or Greeks. In it is revealed a righteousness of God from faith unto faith, as it is written: The righteous shall live by faith.

This statement from the Prophet Habakkuk, Paul had used in the course of his argument for salvation by faith rather than by the works of the law, in the Epistle to the Galatians. In Romans, he places it at the beginning as a text for his discussion. He proceeds to defend the truth of the text as he interprets it, by pointing out the failure of Gentile and Jew alike to attain righteousness in their lives.

He does not hold either responsible to reach a standard beyond his light, but he does paint a lurid picture of the moral corruption of the Gentile world which has not lived up to the light of reason. This corruption he traces to its root in idolatry, changing the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible man and of birds and beasts and creeping things. Paul counted the peoples morally responsible for such debasing religion, since they had sufficient intelligence to enable them to perceive, through the things that were created, the power and divinity of the creator.

Paul's knowledge of the life of his day was wide and deep, and his diagnosis of its social condition was penetrating. The once elevating religion of Egypt had become a debasing force through the gradual predominance of animal worship. Even the artistic presentation of the gods in human form, throughout the Greek world, must have made it more difficult for the ordinary man to think of deity as free from the lower desires and passions of humanity. Thus imaging their gods in animal and human forms, Paul

saw the Gentiles given up to unclean lust, worshiping the created things rather than the creator.

He distinctly holds that man may by his unaided reason discover something of the spiritual nature of the creator and holds equally clearly that man is responsible for using his reason to good purpose. When man perverts his reason to such folly as idolatry, Paul believes that the Creator gives him up to all uncleanness, envy, murder, strife, deceit, cruelty. He did not, however, fail to recognize that there were those in the Gentile world of enlightened conscience who had risen to high moral standards.

When Paul turns to consider the Jew, who rests upon the law, glorying in God, he puts sharp questions as to whether such an one is living up to the moral and religious demands of his law; he declares that the Jew's transgression of the law dishonors God and causes his name to be blasphemed among the Gentiles—He only is a Jew who is one at heart. Thus Paul finds the Greek and Jewish world alike justly under the wrath of God, fit only for judgment, since both fail to live as they know they ought. With his wide practical experience of life, and his high standards of conduct, he did not share the views of those philosophers who believed that if a man knew the right he would do the right.⁹

The Jew had a great advantage in that he was intrusted with the oracles of God. Yet through the law came not justification, but knowledge of sin. By a series of quotations from various Psalms and from Isaiah lix, Paul supports his contention of universal sinfulness; then he goes on to say that apart from the law has come the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ. All have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God, but they are justified freely by his grace.¹⁰

The other Old Testament passage which Paul had espe-

⁹ i. 16-ii. 29.

¹⁰ iii.

cially used in his argument to the misled Galatians, the statement of Genesis, that Abraham's belief of God was reckoned unto him for righteousness, is brought into this epistle also, to maintain the contention that faith, rather than keeping of the law, is the fundamental ground of hope.¹¹

In the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul had struck out white hot his doctrine of justification by faith, in a form calculated to meet the specific conditions reported to him as having arisen in their churches. In the present writing the subject is approached from the broader basis of the universal failure of humanity to live up to right standards of conduct and man's consequent need of justification at the bar of a righteous God.

With his careful argument for the possibility of guilty humanity's being justified by faith, brought to a conclusion, Paul's spirit rises and spreads its wings in the contemplation of the results—peace with God, access into grace, rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.

But life is not lived wholly in ethereal communion with Divinity; life has its tribulations. Even these become glorious, because they lead on to hope and the realization of the love of God. Love has been manifested by the reconciling death, but we shall be saved by the life of Christ. Unlike many of his interpreters, Paul does not rest satisfied with the hope of escape from Divine wrath, but passes on to a new life.¹²

As when writing to the Galatians, so now, Paul was awake to the danger of misuse of his teaching. Some might argue: Since salvation is through grace, let us continue in sin and let grace abound. To Paul baptism into Christ was baptism into his death and burial; the old life crucified with him, they should share his new, risen life, living unto God. Some might interpret freedom from the law

¹¹ iv.¹² v.

as freedom from the requirements of its moral standards. This would mean servitude to sin whose end is death, while the service of God bears the fruit of holiness, and its end is eternal life. The servant of sin receives the wages of sin, death; but God offers the free gift of eternal life in Christ Jesus.¹³

Writing to Roman Christians, Paul draws a legal analogy to enforce his principle of release from the bond of the law: As death of the husband leaves the wife free to be married to another, so the Christian has been made dead to the law through the body of Christ and may be joined to him who was raised from the dead.

The figure of the *paidagogos*, by which Paul illustrated the function of the law in Galatians, does not appear in Romans; in its place, Paul gives an account of his own experience in trying to attain righteousness by scrupulous following of the law. The law gave him a standard of virtue and taught him to know his own sin, but did not give him the power to reach the standard; rather he found a law of his members warring against the law of his mind and leading him captive to the law of sin.

Sincere Pharisaism in its attempt to satisfy exacting consciences by a perfect keeping of the Jewish laws affords one of the tragic pictures of history. Generations of men of pure purpose and keen intellect spent their lives in elaborating the minutiae of ceremonial law, until their discussions finally became crystallized in that great series of volumes known as the *The Talmud* (The Teaching). By the path of conscientious ceremonialism, it would seem that some found satisfaction. In the case of the eager young Pharisee, Saul, it was the moral standards of the law, such as the prohibition of covetousness, which especially engaged his efforts.

As he permits us to look back with him upon his early

struggles, it appears that his sensitive conscience was awakened to a realization of sin and failure by his education in the exalted ethical requirements of the Mosaic law. No perfect observance of Sabbath and ceremonial purity, if such had been possible, would ever have satisfied his nature. There had been a bitter crisis in his life when, the full consciousness of guilt upon him, he felt that he had died. Then in Christ he found the Spirit of life which overcame the power of the flesh. The modern scientist may picture the power which Paul described as the residua of the animal and savage states from which civilized man has arisen; but the modern scientist, if he be a man of keen conscience who approves moral standards such as those of the Jewish law, knows the same struggle that Paul described.

From the Apostle's own life-history recounted so vividly in the seventh chapter of Romans, we are led insensibly in the next chapter into the appeal to the readers not to live after the flesh, but to be led by the Spirit of God as sons of God, not slaves, but sons, heirs, "joint-heirs with Christ." Such heirship is possible only to those who suffer with Christ. So again Paul is led on to the thought of tribulation and suffering, but never in pessimistic mood. As in the fifth chapter, so here again in the eighth, it is a rhapsodical welcoming of tribulation that eventuates in hope. It is God who justifies and glorifies. There is none to condemn save Christ who died and is raised to the right hand of God where he makes intercession. From his love and the love of God, nothing can separate us.

With this glorious assurance of hope, the main argument of the epistle is completed. In these eight chapters Paul has set forth more fully than anywhere else, his philosophy of life. In a word: All men have failed and come short; yet all may escape the just judgment of God through faith in Christ, who died and is risen. This does not mean license

to sin; it means to escape the bondage of sin whose end is death, and to live as sons of God, joint-heirs with Christ.

After the frequent analogy of the Pauline epistles, we would expect this presentation of his doctrine culminating in his rhapsodical picture of the Christian hope, to be followed by some plain, practical applications to daily life of the truths discussed. But, before Paul can go on to such congenial themes, he finds himself constrained to take up a puzzling and to him most bitter subject—the failure of his own people to accept Christ as the solution of life.

He is writing to a church which contains Jewish Christians, but apparently is made up for the most part of Gentiles. These latter may well question why, if the Christian religion is so evidently the sequel of Judaism, the Jews have so generally failed to accept it, or perhaps they may assume an attitude of vain-glory toward the Jews into whose heritage they have entered. Doubtless Paul had struggled with this problem before, but perhaps it had never before come to him so keenly as when he had completed his careful presentation of doctrine for the Roman Church.

Paul must have placed a very high estimate upon the intellectual and moral insight of the Roman Christians, if he expected them to follow an argument so profound, intellectually and spiritually, as that which occupies the first eight chapters of his epistle to them. Thinking with such an audience, it may be that the question forced itself upon him as he wrote, more insistently than ever before. At any rate, he turns aside from his main stream of thought, to wrestle with one of the most difficult problems that he had to meet in carrying out his Gentile mission: What of the promise of God to Israel which seems to have come to naught?

His argument is first, that the promise was not to all of the descendants of Abraham. Isaac was chosen and, of his

descendants, Jacob rather than Esau. Here a possible objection arises: Was such discrimination unjust? To this Paul's answer is at first similar to that of the book of Job: God is too great for man to question his ways. But then Paul goes on to the thought that the creator has right over the created, to execute just wrath or exhibit mercy to those whom he has determined. This contention he seeks to support by quotations from Hosea and Isaiah, and concludes that the Gentiles attained unto righteousness by faith, but that Israel, following the road of law, came short.

This course on the part of Israel, he ascribes to ignorance, not to lack of zeal for God; yet when the glad tidings came they did not hearken. God did not cast off his people; Paul himself was a descendant of Abraham of the tribe of Benjamin; as in the days of Elijah, there is a remnant. Through the failure of the greater part of Israel to obtain, salvation is come to the Gentiles. Paul hopes that through the grafting in of the Gentiles, his own people may be moved to accept salvation in Christ.

Let not the Gentiles glory over them, but rather take warning; they are but a wild olive grafted into the cultivated stock, and God is able to regraft on the old stock the good branches that have been broken off. It is in order that his mercy might reach unto all that God has shut up some unto disobedience. Herein is seen the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God.

In considering the argument of chapters ix-xi, one may well feel at times that if Paul had had a more complete knowledge of the teachings of Jesus, his discussion would have been somewhat different, for it would have rested upon a more adequate conception of the character of the God and Father of Christ and a more adequate appreciation, too, of the value of the individual soul. He is forced to meet the problem, as best he may, largely on the basis

of the Old Testament prophetic conception of God. This is richly supplemented, however, by his experience of the God who has raised Jesus from the dead and who has blessed his own ministry to the Gentiles.

As in the Epistle to the Galatians we see the trained rabbinist and the enlightened Christian in Paul arguing along somewhat different lines, so in this discussion we see at times one whose thought of the nature of God is shaped by the prophets of old and again one whose faith in God breaks these bounds. The teaching of Jesus concerning the character of God as given to us through the Gospels, affords the connecting channel between these two streams of thought which was not available for Paul to follow, for he did not have the detailed knowledge of these teachings as given to Jesus' immediate disciples and finally gathered in the Gospel records. The marvel is that, with his detailed dependence upon the Old Testament ideas which he quotes, his mind could reach out to faith in universal grace¹⁴ and that he was not limited to despair for those of his own people who had rejected Christ.

The great parenthesis of chapters ix-xi having been completed, the Apostle takes up the practical applications of his teaching. In the first words of chapter xii, he connects the thought of the mercy of God, of which he has just been speaking, with the victory over the flesh that had been so prominent in chapter viii, where he had concluded his main line of argument: I beseech you therefore brethren by the mercies of God to present your bodies a living sacrifice. In the main, however, throughout the practical section, he seems to have in mind such difficulties and evils as had appeared in the Church of Corinth, where conceit, self-seeking, lack of consideration for the weaker members of the community, as well as pagan license, had wrought such confusion. He uses again, briefly, the figure of the Chris-

¹⁴ xi. 32.

tian fellowship as the body of Christ with the different members having different functions, but a unitary life. As in Corinthians, once and again in chapters xii-xv of Romans, Paul finds the solution of all practical problems in sincere love that shows respect and consideration for others, the strong bearing the infirmities of the weak and not pleasing themselves.

In one respect his injunctions to the Romans seem quite different from those to the Corinthians. In the Greek city, he had condemned the litigious spirit that led the members of the Church to take their disputes before the civil judges and had insisted that they ought to settle them within their own fellowship. Among the Romans he feared apparently unwillingness to obey the civil law and urged obedience and the ready payment of tribute and custom. Paul clearly counted the legal authority of the Roman state as a blessing. Though we may feel that Paul lacked knowledge of Christ's teaching as to the character of God, in his insistence upon love as the fulfillment of the law and in his instruction to pay tribute to whom tribute is due, we may well believe that he was familiar with two of the most striking and characteristic teachings of Jesus.

There is appended at the close of the Roman epistle a letter of commendation for a certain Phœbe, Deaconness of the Church in Cenchreæ. This seems to have no original connection with the letter to the Romans and the names mentioned in it suggest that it was probably sent to introduce Phœbe to the Ephesian Christians.

CHAPTER XIII

RETURN TO JERUSALEM AND CÆSAREAN IMPRISONMENT—55 TO 57 A. D.

Soon after writing the Roman epistle, Paul returned through Macedonia, as he had come down into Corinth. He had intended to take the more direct sea route, but changed his plans at the last moment and so frustrated a plot against his life made by some hostile Jews. Friends from Berea, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and Derbe accompanied him on his journey, doubtless bearing the gift made for the Jerusalem Church. Why there was no one from Corinth in the company, as Paul had contemplated that there should be, we do not know.¹ The writer of the diary joined Paul at Philippi and accompanied him to Jerusalem, so that at this point, the narrative of Acts becomes particularly full and vivid in its details.

For some reason, most of the company crossed over to Asia ahead and awaited Paul and Luke at Troas. Paul may have wished to have the Christian brethren prepare the way for his coming visit by taking up the mission work at Troas which he had been obliged to cut short when he had passed through the city on his way from Ephesus to Macedonia and Achaia. He and Luke followed, shortly after the Passover. Their voyage was not so quickly accomplished as the one they had made together from Troas to Philippi on the occasion of Paul's first visit to Macedonia; five days were now required to cover the one

¹ Acts xx. 4.

hundred and twenty-five miles, instead of two. In Troas Paul passed seven days, the visit culminating in a communion service at the close of Sunday, after which Paul continued his farewell discourse until break of day.

In the meantime, apparently the ship had sailed with Paul's traveling companions, but he had arranged to join them when the ship should touch at Assos. The distance by water around the promontory of Lectum, the modern Babba Kalessi, was some forty miles, while the walk across by land would be not much over twenty. Paul was no longer a young man, but he was still able when there was an open door for service, to speak through the entire night and, at break of day, to start for a twenty-mile walk across country to make his ship at Assos; such exertion, however, he seemed very ready to spare his companions. From Assos it was a short run of only about forty miles, inside the island of Lesbos, to Mytilene and then a two days' sail of about one hundred and thirty miles to Samos, whence it was but thirty more to Miletus.

Paul had purposely sailed past Ephesus, the writer of the diary states, since his time was limited through his desire to reach Jerusalem by Pentecost, scarcely seven weeks after the date of his departure from Macedonia. It was twenty-five years before that the great outpouring of the Spirit had occurred on the day of Pentecost. From the distant provinces of Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia, Paul and his friends were now bringing a noble anniversary gift to the Jerusalem Church. As in the year 30, there would be gathered together in Jerusalem for the feast multitudes from the distant parts of the Empire. It was not strange, therefore, that Paul should be eager to reach Jerusalem with his delegation and their gift at a time when this great expression of fellowship might touch the imagination of the Jerusalem Church and the knowledge of it might be spread abroad by the pilgrims returning to

their distant homes. If the Jerusalem Christians should respond heartily to the sacrificial offering of the Gentile churches, the new day of Pentecost would witness a manifestation of the Spirit only less significant than that of the earlier day.

The wretched plot against Paul's life had cost him several precious weeks by compelling him to take such a roundabout route from Corinth to Miletus; further delays might frustrate his purpose altogether, and so he hastened past Ephesus. At Miletus he had just time for an interview with the Ephesian elders summoned thither. If the words ascribed to Paul on this occasion formed an original part of the diary, in the midst of an extract from which they now stand, we have in them a first-hand report of a Pauline discourse. Some few sentences suggest possible later retouching,² but the greater part is probably a summary of Paul's own words entered in the journal of one who was present. The fact that its reminiscences of the Ephesian ministry agree more closely with the references in Corinthians than with the account in Acts xix is strong evidence that the discourse is no free composition of the author of the book.³

It is in this discourse that we have the length of Paul's entire stay in Ephesus given as three years, in contrast to the two years and three months indicated in Acts. Possibly the three years may be reckoned from the time of Paul's first stop in Ephesus on his return from his first visit to Achaia. To this discourse also we are indebted for our knowledge of one of Jesus' most frequently quoted *logia*: It is more blessed to give than to receive. Of the few reported sayings of Jesus outside the compass of the Gospels, this is the earliest recorded and the best attested.

The discourse and the entire scene afford one of the most beautiful sections in the dramatic narrative of the

² E.g. xx. 28-30.

³ See McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 339.

Book of Acts, culminating with the picture of the kneeling company and the sad farewell, made the more sorrowful by Paul's word that they should behold his face no more. It was a grief-stricken company who turned their footsteps from the shore back toward Ephesus, after watching the ship sail away that carried Paul and his companions on their course toward Palestine.

Rounding the promontory outside of Miletus, the favoring breeze in this region of prevailing west winds enabled the vessel to lay a straight course to Cos, fifty miles southward. If Luke, an educated physician, wrote the diary, Cos must have been a place of more than passing interest to him, for here was born and here taught Hippocrates "the Great," "the father of medicine."

But Luke's narrative is not concerned with references to ancient history. The record is simply: We came with a straight course unto Cos and the next day unto Rhodes. From Cos to storied Rhodes was a run of eighty miles, rounding the long peninsula on which Cnidus stood. From Rhodes, a sixty-mile run to the eastward brought them to Patara on the Lycian coast of Asia Minor. Here the vessel that had carried them so well from Troas had to be left for another which they found sailing for Phœnicia, apparently without any serious delay in making the transfer.

A straight course of four hundred miles past the southwestern extremity of Cyprus brought the vessel to Tyre. When they sighted Cyprus and left it on their port side, they must have passed the island not far from Paphos where Paul had his notable meeting with the Proconsul Sergius Paulus, ten or eleven years before. At Tyre there was a delay of a week, as there had been at Troas, but they had evidently had such a favorable voyage from Troas to Tyre that the delay did not jeopardize the plan to reach Jerusalem for the Pentecost.

The disciples in the Phœnician city sought to deter Paul

from going on to Jerusalem. Luke evidently regards those who here gave warning of coming danger as under Divine inspiration, but indicates that it did not deter Paul in the least from carrying out his set purpose. It must have been with sad forebodings, as it was on the shore at Miletus, that the travelers and the Christians of Tyre bade each other farewell, after their prayer together on the beach. Coasting along the mountainous shore past the Ladder of Tyre, a run of twenty-seven miles brought them to Acre, or as it was then called, Ptolemais, a city of importance, situated on the low promontory at the northern extremity of the beautiful Bay of Acre. Here a day was passed with the brethren of the community. The next day, sailing across the bay and around the impressive headland of Carmel, so like to Storm King mountain, familiar to all who have traveled on the Hudson River, they came to Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Palestine, about sixty miles south of Tyre. Here they were entertained in the home of Philip, whose early evangelistic labors are recorded in the eighth chapter of Acts.

At Cæsarea, as at Tyre, Paul received warning of impending danger. On this occasion, the warning was given by a prophet named Agabus, who came down from Judæa. His dramatic action, binding his own feet and hands with Paul's girdle, reminds us of the symbolic acts of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and seems like a bit of the Old Testament surviving beyond its time. Predictive prophecy evidently played some small part in the early days of Christianity, gradually giving place to the more permanently valuable elements of religion. The warning was given in the name of the Holy Spirit, but for Paul to turn back now would be to give occasion of reproach indeed. The weeping of his friends breaks his heart, but he must go on, ready, if need be, to die at Jerusalem. His friends at last acquiesce, saying, "The will of the Lord be done."

After some days spent in Cæsarea, the company with other disciples joining them, making a considerable caravan, journeyed across the beautiful Plain of Sharon. The distance from Cæsarea to Jerusalem was some sixty-four miles, so that even if the journey was performed on horseback, as the Greek may imply, it would require at least two days. Probably the night was spent at some village on the route where Mnason lived at the time,⁴ as is clearly stated in one ancient form of the text of Acts. According to that version of the story, the friends from Cæsarea returned home thence, while Paul and his fellow-voyagers went on, up through the hill country of Ephraim to Jerusalem, where they were given a cordial welcome by the Christian brethren and, the next day, appeared before James and all the Elders of the Church. To them Paul gave a full account of his ministry among the Gentiles, and the leaders of the Church received the account with marks of approval.

At this point in the narrative of Acts, the first person disappears, and we cannot tell how much, if anything, of the ensuing account is taken from the diary. We do not know whether on this occasion, Paul's companions put their gift into the hands of the leaders of the Church or not. In fact, the Book of Acts is strangely silent on the subject of the offering, which we know from the epistles was so important in Paul's estimation. Perhaps subsequent events made the author of Acts hesitant to mention that the Jerusalem Church had received this beneficence.

Although James and the other Elders glorified God when they heard the report of Paul's Gentile mission, they were troubled as to the attitude of the great mass of Jewish Christians who were zealous for the law and had heard exaggerated reports of Paul's attitude toward it, such as that he taught the Jews of the dispersion not to circumcise their children. They therefore proposed that Paul should

⁴ Acts xxi. 16.

perform in the Temple an act of Jewish ceremonial and thus show that he was not hostile to Jewish observances.

It is important to distinguish the point in this instance from that with which Paul dealt in Galatia. There the claim of the Judaizers was that Gentile converts must conform to Jewish ritual law; here the charge was that Paul taught Jewish converts to Christianity to disobey their ancestral law. Paul was hostile to the Pharisaic traditions of separation which made fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians impossible,⁵ but he did not teach that Jews who became Christians should abandon the observance of the Old Testament law. It was not strange that he was accused of doing so by those who in their zeal for the law could not comprehend his attitude toward it as good but rudimentary in comparison with the new revelation in Christ. Such misunderstandings become acute in any age when men apprehend new truth. Often the traditionalists can better comprehend the radicals who cut loose entirely from the past, than they can the sound progressives who obey Paul's injunction to examine all things and to hold fast that which is good.

In Paul's case, the plan suggested by the prudent Elders and adopted by him in the effort to correct the misunderstanding, proved worse than useless. The sacrificial gift of the Gentile Christians for the impoverished Church in Jerusalem failed; the attempt of Paul to prove that he was not hostile to the observance of the Old Testament law by Jewish Christians failed; probably nothing that could have been done by Paul or his Gentile converts or the wise leaders of the Jerusalem Church could have brought about true fellowship and mutual understanding between the Gentile and Jewish branches of the early Church—the new wine could not be kept in the old bottles. It is true that it was Jews rather than Jewish Christians who

⁵ Gal. ii. 11-14.

broke out in mob violence against Paul, as he was completing the ceremonial period in the Temple, but it is equally true that the Jerusalem Church continued its separate course until it finally disappeared.

Jews from Asia, who had seen Trophimus the Ephesian in the city with Paul, and assumed that this Gentile had been brought into the sacred precincts, roused a mob in the Temple who dragged Paul out and were about to kill him, when the soldiers from the citadel which commanded the Temple court, ran down and seized him, first binding him safely and then enquiring who he was and what he had done. Naturally it was impossible to get any intelligible explanation from the excited populace of whom some shouted one thing, some another. So the Captain ordered Paul brought into the citadel, and the soldiers fairly bore him up the stairs that led out of the northwest corner of the outer court, as the maddened throng surged upon them, crying out: "Away with him!"

At the head of the stairs, where they could look down upon the throng, Paul obtained permission from the perplexed officer to address the people. To the officer he spoke in Greek, but to the people in Aramaic. Hearing their native tongue, they were silent for a time, as Paul told the story of his conversion to the Christian faith, until he came to his commission to the Gentiles; then their wrath broke forth in cries and wild demonstrations against him, and the Chiliarch ordered him brought into the castle for examination by scourging. Claiming the right of his hereditary Roman citizenship, Paul escaped this cruel indignity and, the next day, was given a hearing before the Jewish Sanhedrin.

The account of Paul's hearing before the Council of his own nation is one of the passages in Acts that has given rise to much debate. The idea that the resurrection belief played so important a part in the differences between

Pharisees and Sadducees that it would lead the Pharisees to a violent espousal of Paul's innocence when he claimed that this faith was the ground of his being brought to trial, is one that has proved difficult to accept. It is evident that the author of Acts consistently regards the resurrection faith of the early Christians as the chief ground of Sadducean hostility to them.⁶ In support of the historical possibility of the account of the hearing as given in Acts, it may be noted that, although the resurrection belief may not have been the principal ground of difference between the two great parties of Judaism, it was a difference which the trained Pharisee Josephus thought it worth while to point out, and that it does not seem out of accord with human nature that, when Paul claimed to be an hereditary Pharisee brought to trial for even a subordinate doctrine of the faith of that sect, Pharisees of the Council should spring to his defence against their hated opponents. Opposition parties, religious or political, are not wont to tabulate their respective tenets in an exact scale of relative importance and to regulate the warmth of their disputes accordingly.

In the interest of our admiration for the character of Paul, we might be glad to doubt the complete accuracy of the narrative of Acts xxiii. 1-10. It perhaps pictures a Paul for the moment more clever than great, but, unless we are able to count him free from every human foible, we may believe that, having just been brutally insulted by the lawless order of the High Priest, he took a certain satisfaction in setting the whole unholy Council into violent dissension. The scene could hardly fail to impress the Chiliarch, in whose hands Paul was, with the conviction that the case against the prisoner was not one of such "wrong or wicked villany" as the Roman law recognized, but rather concerned what a Roman officer would consider mere

⁶ E.g. Acts iv. 2.

“words and names” of the Jewish law, about which the chief council of the people was itself in sharp variance. We would willingly blot out the scene from our picture of the Sanhedrin and of Paul, but, if it be in part a creation of the imagination, it is one that has verisimilitude in its representation of human nature, and we cannot accuse Paul of acting unjustly in using the only means available to show his custodian the real character of the hostility toward himself.

The violent scenes of the preceding two days were followed by a night in which there came to the prisoner assurance that, as he had been able to bear testimony in Jerusalem, so he must also witness at Rome. The inner assurance was needed, for the following day was to bring new dangers. Paul had a nephew in Jerusalem who now brought him tidings of a solemn compact of more than forty men who had bound themselves with an oath neither to eat nor drink until they had killed Paul. Of Paul's sister and this her son, we have no other knowledge, but we may infer that the young man's Jewish standing was good, since knowledge of the plot came to his ears. The messenger quickly convinced the Chiliarch that it was not safe to keep the prisoner in Jerusalem where he would be asked to bring him again before the Council so that the plotters could fall upon him and his guard in the way. Charging the young man to secrecy, the officer took prompt measures to send the prisoner out of the city, waiting only until the night hours should give secrecy.

A guard of footmen and horsemen, numerous enough to frustrate any possible plan of ambush by the conspirators, was sent to conduct the prisoner safely to the Procurator Felix at Cæsarea. The night march brought the band some thirty-two or three miles to Antipatris. There the footmen turned back to Jerusalem, while the horsemen took Paul across the plain to Cæsarea and de-

livered him to Felix, together with the letter of explanation of Claudius Lysias the Chiliarch.

The Procurator Felix does not appear in the most favorable light in the records of Josephus, Tacitus, or Acts.⁷ According to Josephus, the high priest Jonathan was assassinated in the Temple at his behest. He received Paul with outward fairness, remanding him to Herod's palace until his accusers should come, and then giving a prompt hearing. After five days, the high priest himself and certain elders came down from Jerusalem, bringing along a trained orator, very probably a professional advocate from Italy, practicing in Palestine. After an exordium of praise for the Governor, the advocate proceeds to very definite charges against Paul, that he has proved a veritable pest, stirring up sedition among the Jews throughout the civilized world, a ring-leader of the sect of the Nazarenes, and one who tried to profane the Temple.

The charge was a serious one. Felix dealt summary justice to "impostors who deluded the multitude, catching and putting to death many of them every day."⁸ The land was in turmoil from insurrectionists and pseudo-messiahs during his term of office. The charge, therefore, that there had now come to Jerusalem one who had been raising sedition among the Jews of other lands was one well calculated to bring summary punishment upon Paul's head. The High Priest and Elders testified to the truth of the charge. This was the priest who only a week before had had Paul struck contrary to the law and had been called a "whited wall" by Paul.

That there was plausible ground for the charge against the prisoner is obvious enough from the story of his missionary experiences given in the Book of Acts and from his own enumeration of imprisonments, beatings, and

⁷ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XX, 8, Tacitus, *Annals*, XII, 15.

⁸ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XX, 8, § 5.

stonings, which he gave in II Corinthians. He had a prison record and had been the occasion of riotous disturbance before the recent outbreak in the Temple. Felix was anxious for the good order of his province; that was the first thing required of a procurator. He, however, gives Paul full opportunity to make his own defense.

With all deference and courtesy, but without the exaggerated praise of the professional orator, Paul makes quiet and definite denial of having given just cause for any disturbance in Jerusalem. Neither in the Temple, nor in the synagogues, nor elsewhere in the city had he even argued with any man. After years of absence, he had come to bring alms and offerings to his nation, and had been quietly performing a religious rite in the Temple. He starts to speak of the Jews from Asia who had falsely accused him of desecrating the Temple, but breaks off with the thought that they are not present, as they ought to be if they had any charge to make. He declares that the accusers present can sustain no charge against him, except that he had said in the Council that he was brought to trial concerning the resurrection of the dead.

A greater contrast than that between the ordered dignity of proceedings in the Procurator's court and the turmoil at the hearing before the Sanhedrin could hardly be pictured, nor could a more fitting and convincing plea than Paul's at Cæsarea well be imagined. The outcome of the hearing was indecisive. Felix had sufficient knowledge of the sect of the Nazarenes to know that this "way" which they called a sect was not in itself outlawed among the Jews. Many followers of the Nazarene had lived in Jerusalem unmolested for the preceding ten years, ever since the death of King Agrippa I and the return of Judæa to direct Roman rule. Paul had acknowledged himself a follower of this way and had admitted the words which raised a dispute in the Sanhedrin. He had denied that he

had even caused the gathering of a street crowd in Jerusalem or profaned the Temple, and he had called attention to the fact that the Jews from Asia, who had occasioned the disturbance in the Temple, were not present to give testimony. His accusers at this hearing could not of their own knowledge make a charge of any legal offense against him.

To many modern students it has seemed that the only just course for Felix to have pursued was immediate release of Paul. Others have noted that the charge, supported by some of the recognized leaders of the Jews, was one of the most serious that could be brought before a Roman tribune. Insurrectionism was rife in the land; Felix had dealt severely with the offense in other cases. In this case, the testimony was conflicting, and while the charge was not adequately supported, we may not wonder that Felix found it serious enough to hold the prisoner in relatively mild, military custody until he could get further light.

Felix had married as his third wife, Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa I, a small child at the time her father had persecuted the Christians in Jerusalem. Whether to satisfy her curiosity, or in the hope that through her Jewish knowledge and woman's insight he might gain some light on Paul's case, he gave the prisoner a hearing before himself and Drusilla. Curiously enough, the writer of Acts styles Drusilla Felix's "own wife." From Josephus we learn that she had left her earlier husband, Azizus king of Emesa, for Felix. Felix himself was later characterized by Tacitus as one "who revelled in cruelty and lust, and wielded the power of a king with the mind of a slave."⁹

Faced with such an audience of two, Paul entered into no theological discussion of the relation of the new way to the ancient path of Judaism; instead he reasoned of righteous-

⁹ *Hist.*, V, 9.

ness, continence, and judgment to come. If he spoke with any such frankness and cogency as characterized his picture of society painted a few months before in the Epistle to the Romans, we need not wonder that the cruel and profligate governor trembled before the preacher, as fifteen centuries later, Mary of Scotland would tremble before Paul's successor.

If Felix believed at all, he went no further than the faith of those spirits who believe and tremble, remaining demons still. Our historian indicates that a motive stronger than the fear of Paul's preaching actuated the Governor who sent once and again for the prisoner to appear before him, hoping ever that a bribe would be offered. When, a few years later, one of the successors of Felix, Albinus, left the province, Josephus tells us that only those who failed to give were left as criminals in the prisons.¹⁰ So Paul, having failed to respond to Felix's hope, was left a prisoner when the procurator was removed two years after the arrest. It might be of some service to the retiring governor to have as much as he could of the good will of those Jewish leaders who desired Paul's punishment.

There is no record that Ananias and his associates had pushed their case against Paul any further after the first hearing at Cæsarea; but they had not forgotten him, as is shown by the fact that when Festus, the new governor, reached Cæsarea and promptly came up to Jerusalem, the chief priests and other leaders laid information against Paul, making it a matter of personal favor with the new governor to have the prisoner brought to Jerusalem for trial before him. Thus they hoped, Luke tells us, to carry out at last the plot of killing him on the way. On its face, the request might not appear wholly unreasonable; here the disturbance had occurred which caused the prisoner's arrest and the witnesses could readily be summoned; here

¹⁰ *Wars*, II, 14, 11.

too was the Procurator himself, free to hold court. But Festus did not fall into the trap, whether because he saw the possible danger in bringing the prisoner up through the mountain passes in the disturbed condition of the country, or because it better suited his convenience to deal with the matter in Cæsarea. The latter is suggested by his reply that his stay in Jerusalem was to be brief and that the influential men of the city might accompany him back to Cæsarea. That these should be invited to make the trip down to Cæsarea in company with the new Procurator might be thought by him some palliation of his failure to grant their request.

Immediately on his return to Cæsarea, about ten days later, the case of Paul was called for trial. The Jews brought many charges, which they could not prove. Festus, not wishing to offend the leaders of the people who had caused the recall of successive procurators, asked Paul whether he would go to Jerusalem for trial there. This, to Paul's mind, meant to surrender him to his ravenous accusers. He met it by what might well appear the only road of escape from certain death, the only road by which he could now hope to carry out his purpose of reaching Rome—"*Cæsarem apello.*" After conferring with the officials who formed his council, Festus declared the appeal to the Emperor allowed.

A few days later, Agrippa II, son of King Agrippa I, came to pay a state visit to the new Procurator. A youth of only seventeen at his father's death in the year 44, he had not received the rule of Palestine. Claudius had, however, a little later, appointed him to succeed his uncle, Herod, King of Chalcis, and had afterward added to his kingdom territories to the east and northeast of the Sea of Galilee. Agrippa had also received the government of the Temple with the right of appointing the high priests. He was thus not only a neighboring ruler to the new

Procurator, but held a certain overlapping authority which made friendly relations and common understanding highly desirable. With Agrippa came his sister Berenice, older sister of Drusilla, in whose presence Paul had reasoned of righteousness and self-control, two years before.

The new Governor, puzzled over the unfamiliar Jewish ramifications of Paul's case, consulted with Agrippa, who might be expected better to understand, in the hope of getting a proper statement of the case to lay before Nero, who had come to the throne during the period of Paul's imprisonment. On the next day, accordingly, there was an imposing assembly in a hall of the procurator's palace, attended by the chiliarchs commanding the regiments of the garrison and the principal men of the city. King Agrippa and his sister came with much display. Paul had made what was perhaps his most irrevocable break with Judaism when, a few days before, he had appealed to Cæsar to escape going back to Jerusalem for trial. Brought before the present assembly, he took advantage of the opportunity to emphasize his conformity to true Judaism, not only in his early life, but in his subsequent application of his Pharisaic faith in the resurrection and in predictive prophecy. It was in loyalty to this faith that, after a special vision, he preached the suffering and risen Messiah. To Festus's Roman ears, all this seemed the expression of a cultured but unbalanced mind. Paul had, however, really been addressing himself to the Jewish intelligence of Agrippa, to whom he now turned in personal appeal for confession of faith in the prophets.

Agrippa would scarcely deny such belief, but was too wary to make a confession on the basis of which Paul could go on to argue for acceptance of Jesus as the Christ. The King's own father had persecuted the Christians, and now Paul with this "little effort" thought to make him a Christian! To the sarcasm of the King's answer, Paul

replies with appropriate word of the most intense sincerity: "I would to God, that whether by little effort or great, you and all these hearers might become such as I, except for these bonds." As Paul had begun his defence with outstretched hand and now had reached out appealingly toward his hearers, the manifest chain made dramatic contrast to the freedom of his spirit and speech.

Thus ended St. Paul's last appeal on Jewish soil, made to the last representatives of the house of Herod. It was not a plea in a legal trial; that could come now only before the Emperor. It was a great personal appeal to one who now rejected the Christian faith in adherence to the tenets of Judaism and who, a few years later, would turn away from the Jews in their war against Rome.

CHAPTER XIV

JOURNEY TO ROME AND LUKE'S DIARY

57-58 A. D.

How Luke had been occupied during the two years of Paul's imprisonment, we can only conjecture. He had, we have seen, gone up to Jerusalem with Paul and, on the following day, they had gone together to confer with James and the other Elders. At that point he dropped out of the narrative, but now, when Paul had appealed to Cæsar, it was determined to send *us* to Italy. From this place until the arrival in Rome, some six months later, the narrative proceeds in the first person, affording one of the most perfect examples of a travel-diary that can be found in any literature.

Paul and certain other prisoners, not more specifically designated, are delivered to a centurion named Julius. Embarking at Cæsarea on a boat belonging in Adramittium, on the western shore of Asia Minor, which was about to sail for its home province of Asia, they touched the following day at Sidon on the Phœnician coast. With them was Aristarchus of Thessalonica, one of those who had, like Luke, gone with Paul to Jerusalem, more than two years before. From the first, the centurion showed Paul every kindness in his power, permitting him at Sidon, for example, to leave the ship and be entertained by his friends in the city.

From Sidon, the shortest course to Asia would have been to the south of Cyprus, but contrary winds were en-

countered, compelling the vessel to sail to the north of the island, along the Cilician and Pamphylian shores, until they reached Myra of Lycia. Here the centurion was fortunate in finding an Alexandrian vessel bound for Italy. They had now completed some four hundred and fifty miles of their voyage, but by the most direct course to Italy's principal port of Puteoli, whither they were probably bound, twice that distance lay before them. The winds were still unfavorable, and they made slow progress for many days, but finally got under the lee of Crete at its eastern cape of Salmone, and made their way along the inhospitable southern shore of that great island, protected somewhat by its lofty mountains, until they reached the wretched harbor of "Fair Havens," near Cape Litinos. Fair Havens might offer fair weather shelter, but was too exposed to be a desirable place for wintering.

It was now mid-autumn, and Paul, who had already suffered shipwreck on three occasions and had had much experience of Mediterranean conditions, advised remaining rather than to continue the voyage which he assured the officers of the vessel and the centurion would result in loss of both cargo and ship. Not unnaturally, the centurion listened to the captain and pilot of the ship rather than to the warning of the prisoner, as they explained their hope of coasting along the island to the more favorable harbor of Phoenix, not many miles to the westward. A south wind springing up, conditions seemed most favorable for their purpose; but the winds near such a shore, where the mountain peaks rise seven and eight thousand feet from the sea, with sharp-cut valleys between, are most treacherous. Soon a violent east-northeast hurricane beat down upon them from Mt. Ida's heights. Their ship not being able to bear up against it at all, they had to let go the sheets, and run before the gale. Coming near to a little island called Cauda, lying about thirty-five miles to the

southwest of the Cretan harbor they had hoped to make, they took advantage of its slight shelter to secure their small boat and to frap the ship with supporting cables and so stiffen her strained hull. Now a new fear assailed them; they thought from the direction in which they had been borne that they would be driven upon the treacherous quicksands of the African coast west of Libya, but they could do no more than to reduce sail and try to hold a westerly course. The next day they began to jettison the cargo and on the third day to throw overboard even the vessel's tackle.

Days and nights wore on with neither sun nor star visible. Then at length there came to Paul a vision of an angel assuring him that he must appear before Cæsar and that all the ship's company would be saved with him. At last, on the fourteenth night, when they had been driven westward from their Cretan port some six hundred miles, the sailors, with that perception so incomprehensible to the landsman, sensed the fact that land was near. Soundings soon verified the suspicion, for the water grew shoaler. Fearing that they might be driven in the darkness upon some rocky shore, they put out four anchors from the stern and waited anxiously for the first sign of day.

Now the sailors, thinking to desert the ship and save themselves, lowered the boat, pretending to do so in order to put anchors out from the bow also. Paul saw the ruse and warned the centurion and soldiers who quickly cut the ropes and let the boat fall off. Paul now appears as the central and commanding figure on the vessel and urges all to take the nourishment which they have so long neglected. He himself sets the example of eating, with thanksgiving to God. Thus encouraged, all partake of food and are fortified against the exertion and exposure which await them with the coming of day. With renewed strength they still further lighten the vessel. The dawn reveals an un-

known shore, but a welcome bay with a beach on which it seemed that it might be possible to run the lightened ship. Letting go the anchors, unlash the rudder, and hoisting sail, they made for the beach, but they were not destined to reach it, for their bow grounded on a hidden bank or reef, while the stern was broken by the force of the waves.

The soldiers, mindful of their stern duty not to let prisoners escape, advised that they be killed, but the centurion on Paul's account forbade this and ordered those who could swim, first to leap into the sea, while the others on planks or whatever bits of the ship they could lay hold of trusted themselves to the waves. Thus, almost beyond belief, all the two hundred and seventy-six souls on the vessel reached the land alive.

Today on the little island of Selmun at the entrance of St. Paul's Bay, on the northeastern shore of Malta, a colossal statue of the Christian prisoner commemorates the shipwreck on the island. The northeast wind that beats upon this open shore in winter and the more southerly Sirocco that brings the autumnal downpours characteristic of these regions render the climate of the island a trying one. In such a chill storm, already of two weeks' duration, the shipwrecked company found themselves escaped from the sea, but in sore need of comfort and cheer. The natives who had witnessed the escape are called by Luke barbarians, meaning that they could not speak nor understand the Greek language; but they spoke a still more universal and civilized tongue, that of human kindness. Luke says they showed us no ordinary philanthropy for kindling a fire they received us all because of the storm which prevailed and the cold.

It was characteristic of the unremitting energy of Paul that he joined zealously in the gathering of the fagots. He had collected a considerable bundle and was heaping

them on the fire, when suddenly a viper among the sticks, warmed into activity by the heat, fastened upon his hand. The natives regarded this as an indication that the prisoner who had escaped the sea must be a murderer whom Fate would not permit to escape. When Paul shook the creature into the fire and suffered no harm, they were equally ready to conclude that he must be a god.

Ever since 218 B.C., this island had been under Roman dominance, and the country round about where the shipwrecked company had reached shore now belonged to the Roman Governor, Publius, who, Luke says, received us and entertained us in a friendly manner for three days. Now it happened that the father of Publius lay sick with dysentery, so dreaded by Mediterranean travelers today. Luke the physician gives to Paul's ministration of prayer the credit for healing the aged man. Soon the scenes became like those in Galilee thirty years before, for the sick came from all parts of the island and were healed, so that Paul and his associates were highly honored by the people and gratefully supplied with those things of which they had need.

It is to be noted that this narrative of healing is not a matter of popular tradition; it occurs in the first-hand narrative of an eye-witness and participant in the events. Nor does the account offer to the scientifically trained, material so foreign to the thought and experience of the present day as does much that is recounted by Plutarch and other Greek and Roman writers of the classical age. Modern science, in fact, is just beginning to fathom some of the laws of mental healing, and modern experience within and without the Christian Church is affording many examples of perfect epidemics of healing through great waves of faith sweeping over multitudes. It is only when bodily health is made the chief end and aim of Christian faith, rather than a Christlike spirit of self-sacrificing

service, that such movements become subversive of the highest Christian life.

After three months on the island the shipwrecked company set sail on an Alexandrian vessel that had wintered there. Luke adds the information that the figurehead of the ship was the "Twins" (Castor and Pollux). This picturesque touch suggests the vivid impression made upon the mind of the writer by something that gave the sense of relationship to his old associations in this far island where they had spent the winter; perhaps too Luke feels some significance in the symbol. In any case the diarist soon found himself in the midst of ancient Greek associations, for the ship touched at Syracuse, birthplace of the poet Theocritus and the mathematician Archimedes. Already at the time of this visit the heroic history of this important point of contact between East and West extended over a period of almost eight hundred years since the founding of the city by a Corinthian colony. Here had occurred the decisive struggle between the Syracusans and Athenians which Thucydides characterized as the most important event in known Greek history.

After a stop of three days at Syracuse, the ship of Castor and Pollux sailed northward, touching for a day at the Calabrian town of Rhegium, another ancient Greek colony situated where the straits of Messina narrow in to some six miles in width. Then, with a favorable south wind, she passed easily through the remaining thirteen miles of the straits, past the dread Scylla and Charybdis, and out into the open Tyrrhenian Sea¹ where with a favoring south wind, the pilot could lay a straight course past lofty Strom-

¹ It is an interesting theory set forth by the Italian archæologist, Angello Mosso, in his *Dawn of European Civilization*, that the real dread of the ancient sailors was not the narrow passage in itself, but the pirates dwelling on these shores who took advantage of the difficulties of vessels in the straits.

boli, with its ever active volcano, and beautiful Capri, to Puteoli, then the principal port of all Italy.

Puteoli, the modern Pozzuoli, lying on the shore of its own beautiful bay at the northwestern extremity of the great Bay of Naples, was much more favorably situated for the smaller shipping of antiquity than the modern metropolis, seven miles to the east. The fair shores were then dotted with the luxurious villas of the wealthy Romans. Above the city of Puteoli was an amphitheatre, still well preserved, whose arena could on occasion be turned into an artificial lake or *naumachia* for marine sports. The Roman amphitheatre had not yet come to be associated with persecution of the Christians; but, according to tradition, in this very theatre two and a half centuries later, Januarius, patron saint of Naples, and his companions were thrown to the lions. Across the bay to the southeast Vesuvius lifted its summit of ashes and scoriæ, and at its foot lay Herculaneum and Pompeii ignorant of the danger which within a few short years would bury their beauty and their vice beneath boiling mud or scorching ashes.

At Puteoli brethren were found who urged the Christian company to remain for a week. Whether these brethren are Jews or Jewish Christians is not quite clear, but the fact that the Gentile Luke was included in the invitation suggests that they were not rigid Jews of Paul's early Pharisaic fellowship. Probably the centurion was not loth to spend a week in these delightful surroundings after the vicissitudes of the voyage and the winter in the less genial climate of Melita. Luke seems clearly to imply that Paul and he were free to accept the invitation of the brethren.

After the refreshment of these seven days the party started on the one hundred and fifty miles of land journey toward Rome. The first part of their route lay through the wonderfully fertile Campanian plain, and then along the Appian Way between the mountains and the sea through

the pass where Fabius Maximus had kept Hannibal in check during the Second Punic War. Beyond the pass lay Tarracina, the natural frontier town between central and southern Italy. Thence the road ran across the Pontine marshes, near whose northern end, about thirty-five miles distant from Rome, lay *Appii Forum* and *Tres Tabernæ* where the weary travelers were cheered by finding a company of "the brethren" from Rome who in some way had received word of their approach and had come out to meet them. Luke's beautifully simple statement is: Seeing whom, Paul gave thanks to God and took courage. Accompanied by these friends, they made their way past the Alban mountains and through the Roman Campagna, along the famous Way with its many monuments, into the city, where Paul was not thrown into a dungeon, but permitted to dwell by himself with a soldier guarding him.

Now at last Paul's hope, expressed three years before in the epistle sent to Rome, was realized, but not as he had planned as a stage in a journey to Spain where he might lay new foundations for Christian building. Whether the purpose to visit Spain was ever realized is a mooted question upon which we must touch later. For the present we merely note the fact that the Book of Acts closes with a two years' detention at Rome, not making clear whether this was followed by release or by the immediate inflicting of the death penalty.

With the arrival in Rome the diary portion of the Book of Acts comes to a sudden close and the fifteen verses that follow offer some puzzling problems. Instead of friendly brethren such as the diary had indicated at Puteoli and as coming from Rome to *Tres Tabernæ*, or an established church such as Paul had addressed in his letter, we have after three days an assembly of the chief Jews of the city who know of the Christian faith only as a sect everywhere spoken against, but think it proper to hear Paul's views

from himself. Later, on an appointed day, more came together, to whom Paul argued from the Scriptures concerning Jesus. Some were persuaded; some disbelieved, and to these Paul applied the words of Isaiah's inaugural vision concerning those who do not hear with their ears, see with their eyes, and understand with their heart, declaring that this salvation is sent to the Gentiles and that they will hear. Where Luke was during these days or where the Roman Christians were, does not appear. The Book of Acts closes with the summary statement: And he abode two whole years in his own hired house and received all that went in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, none forbidding him. From the epistles of the imprisonment we shall be able to fill out in some measure the picture of Paul's life during these two years, at the close of which our authentic records of his life end.

The travel-diary from which we have had such vivid and authentic accounts of Paul's journeys, is the earliest written narrative of Christian history or biography that we can clearly distinguish. Contemporary with Paul's epistles, wherever it appears in the Book of Acts, it gives details of movements and vivid pictures of scenes that have all the interest of personal letters from a companion of the great Apostle. The diary, so far as we can clearly distinguish it by the use of the pronoun "we," contains the record of the two days' voyage from Troas to Neapolis, whence the writer proceeded with Paul to Philippi. After this brief section² the document does not appear again until the writer sails away with Paul from Philippi to Troas, six years later. Paul had passed through Macedonia on his way to Greece a few months before this, but there is no indication that the author of the diary had met

² Acts xvi. 10-18.

him at that time. Now, he accompanies him on the voyage from Macedonia to Cæsarea and the land journey up to Jerusalem. There he is received with Paul by the brethren, and is present at the gathering of the Elders when Paul rehearses what God has wrought among the Gentiles through his ministry.

He then drops out of the narrative for two years, but is at Cæsarea ready to sail away with Paul when he is sent to Rome. On the arrival at the Capital, as we have seen, he suddenly drops again from the story of Acts. Yet, if the writer be Luke, he was with Paul in Rome when the epistles to the Colossians and Philemon were written. In Colossians Luke is styled the beloved physician. As mentioned in this epistle he does not appear to be included in the group of Paul's "fellow-workers unto the kingdom" nor among his associates who are "of the circumcision."

The diarist's mastery of the Greek language and literary art accord well with the view that he may have been a Greek physician. Tradition from the second century onward has associated the name of Luke with the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts. Many scholars believe that this tradition arose from the fact that Luke's diary was embodied in this two volume work which was written by some other author. It is generally recognized that among the known companions of Paul Luke is most probably to be identified as the diarist. For the present, we may regard him as such, leaving the question as to whether he is also the author of the Gospel and Acts for later consideration. If he ultimately compiled these books from various sources oral and written, including materials from his own diary, it was at a period considerably later than that now under consideration.

Due to the contemporary evidence of Paul's epistles and to some extent to these diary extracts, we have fuller and more accurate knowledge of the eleven years from Paul's

first crossing into Macedonia to the latter part of his Roman imprisonment than of any other portion of Christian history from the death of Jesus to the close of the New Testament period.

CHAPTER XV

THE EPISTLES OF THE IMPRISONMENT

Four of the epistles ascribed to Paul (Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians) are closely connected with one another by their references and appear to come from the two years' imprisonment in Rome, with the mention of which the Book of Acts closes. Strong arguments are adduced for the belief that Ephesians was written by a Paulinist some years after the death of the Apostle. Many students question also the genuineness of the Epistle to the Colossians which is closely related to Ephesians and forms to some extent the middle term between the certainly genuine epistles and this much questioned one. On the whole, however, Colossians seems to be a first-hand epistle of Paul and, when this is granted, the difficulties in regarding Ephesians as the work of another hand seem greater than those involved in maintaining its Pauline authorship.

Accepting their genuineness, Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians were all dispatched at the same time, destined for recipients in the province of Asia of which Ephesus was the great center. Tychicus "the beloved brother" is named in both Colossians and Ephesians as sent by Paul to tell by word of mouth of his personal condition and to comfort the hearts of the recipients.¹ The individual letter to Philemon of Colossæ is borne by Onesimus who is also spoken of in Colossians as sent with Tychicus.² The

¹ Col. iv. 7-8; Eph. vi. 21-22.

² Col. iv. 9.

Epistle to the Philippians, on the other hand, was dispatched to the province of Macedonia by the hand of Epaphroditus, who had come to Paul in his imprisonment as the messenger and minister from his earliest European church. References in this letter seem to place it a little later in the imprisonment than the other three.

We know that Paul wrote letters to churches which have not been preserved and we cannot doubt that he sent many letters to individuals. Of these, one only has come down to us in its original form. In the so-called Pastoral Epistles, I and II Timothy and Titus, we may have fragments of genuine letters of Paul to those younger ministers; but, if so, they have been much worked over and elaborated by some later hand. In Philemon we see the Apostle in converse with an individual concerning a matter of private interest. For our knowledge of the man Paul who had such personal attraction that he attached many associates to himself who were ready to go to the ends of the earth on his behest or to share all hardships with him, this little personal letter is of great significance. It is also of historical value as throwing light upon the work Paul was able to do in his imprisonment and upon the relation of early Christianity to the great human problem of slavery.

Paul had not himself founded the Church in Colossæ and yet he was evidently personally acquainted with Philemon, a resident of that Asian city whose home was the gathering place of a company of believers; he addresses Philemon as "our beloved and fellow worker." It is even probable that he had become a Christian through the ministry of Paul.³ Although the letter concerns a matter primarily belonging to Philemon to deal with, greetings are sent to his wife Aphia, to the church in his house, and to Archippus. Why the last is specifically mentioned is not quite clear; he is charged in the letter to the Colossians

³ 19.

to take heed to the ministry which he has received, and it may be that his ministry included service to the company that was wont to gather in Philemon's house, or he may have been singled out as a representative of the whole Church in Colossæ which would have a certain concern with the reception of Onesimus.

Onesimus had been the slave of Philemon, from whom he had run away, perhaps taking some of his master's property, for Paul writes: If he oweth thee aught. In some way the runaway slave had come into the circle of Paul's personal influence while he dwelt in Rome, a prisoner, yet permitted to receive freely those who came to him. Onesimus accepted the faith that Paul taught so completely that like Paul himself he died and was raised to newness of life in Christ. So absolute was his transformation that he was willing to return to his old master and slavery, taking the chance of any punishment that might be meted out to him. To Paul, he is his child begotten in his bonds.

It was no part of the purpose of Paul to dislocate the existing social order. We have seen him urging upon the Roman Christians submission to Roman law, and with the Corinthians, dealing specifically with the question of a slave who became a Christian, charging such an one to care not for his servitude, but if he had the opportunity to become free, to use it. The context of this injunction in the seventh chapter of I Corinthians shows clearly that Paul was then expecting the speedy consummation of the age and so felt that it was undesirable to seek social changes; even the change from the unmarried to the married state he mildly deprecated. In his later years, when Philemon was written, the immediate expectation of the consummation of the age had apparently fallen into the background of his thought, but he evidently still thought that the Christian should as far as possible maintain the legal, social

order; so the runaway slave now reborn, at Paul's behest, goes back to his old master.

The circumstances call for a most tactful letter for the returning slave to carry with him. After the epistolary introduction with its greetings from Paul and Timothy, there follow beautiful words of appreciation of Philemon's love, faith, and fellowship, not fulsome words but those bearing every mark of sincerity. Philemon was Paul's convert, and so the Apostle would have boldness in Christ to charge him as to his duty, but in view of Philemon's character, for love's sake Paul the aged and now also a prisoner of Christ Jesus beseeches Philemon on behalf of the child begotten in his bonds. At this point, just when the frown might perhaps overcloud the brow of the master who had suffered legal wrong from Onesimus, a smile, we may imagine, flickers about the corners of his mouth at Paul's delicate play upon the name, a common one among slaves, "Onesimus," "Profitable," who formerly was "un-serviceable," but now is "serviceable" or "useful." Paul would gladly have kept so useful an one to minister to his needs on behalf of the owner, but would not thus assume the service which he very delicately suggests Philemon would have been glad to render through his servant. He goes on to say that the temporary separation may have been to the end that Philemon might receive his servant back as more than a servant, a brother beloved of Paul and even more of Philemon.

If you count me a partner receive him as myself, he urges. Then comes the request that if Onesimus owes his master anything, he will charge it up to Paul's account, who will repay, though Philemon owes his very self to Paul. He is confident Philemon will do more than he has asked. Does this mean manumission of the slave? The owner may interpret it so, or he may not. Paul does not make the matter any more specific, but goes on to express the

hope that he may soon be able to come himself for a visit. He then closes with greetings from himself and his associates and a benediction.

In its combination of dignity with humility and respect for the personality of Philemon, this short letter reveals to us a Paul more like the Jesus of the Gospels than the man we see in the doctrinal epistles. It is not a character inconsistent with that shown in the more general communications, but rather the man whom his intimate friends knew, whose earnestness was relieved with playful humor and whose appeal for his friend was made his own with generosity and tact.

From the greetings in Philemon and Colossians, we learn of Paul's associates who are with him in Rome. Timothy's name is coupled with his own in the salutations of both letters, and among those sending greetings is Epaphras one of the Colossians, who had apparently been the founder of the Church in that community,⁴ and very probably also in the neighboring cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis.⁵ In Philemon Epaphras is called "fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus." Aristarchus is also styled "fellow-prisoner," in Colossians. We have known of him as a Thessalonian who was a traveling companion of Paul and was seized at the time of the uproar in Ephesus and who was of those who accompanied the Apostle on his final departure from Greece, as he returned to Jerusalem.⁶ Others with Paul are Mark, Luke, Jesus called Justus, and Demas. Paul anticipates sending Mark to the east, for he charges the Colossians to receive him if he comes.

It is interesting to note that it is in the Colossian epistle that Luke is called the beloved physician, for it is in this passage alone that his profession is named. If he is, as we suppose, the author of the Third Gospel and Acts, we

⁴ Col. i. 7.

⁵ Col. iv. 13.

⁶ Acts xix. 29, xx. 4.

know him there at least as one very familiar with Greek medical terms.

From such incidental allusions in the imprisonment epistles we supplement the brief statement of Acts and are able to picture Paul in the earlier stages of his Roman detention as supported by a considerable group of old and trusted associates.

In writing to the Colossians, as to the Romans, Paul was addressing a church which he had never visited, but the Colossian Church was within the district where he had been the first to establish Christianity and was probably the direct outgrowth of his long Ephesian ministry, so that he felt a responsibility for its oversight and instruction which he did not claim in the case of Rome. In Colossæ, as there had been in Galatia, there were those who were insisting that Paul's Gospel was not sufficient and were adding to it what Paul counted weak and beggarly rudiments, the observance of certain days and seasons, as essential parts of religion. The false teachers of Colossæ were not insisting on the Jewish rite of circumcision as essential. They emphasized in addition to the observance of feast days, new moons, and sabbaths, ascetic severity to the body and worship of angels.

Such teachings do not seem to have been put forward as invalidating Paul's doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ, but as supplementing his Gospel so as to lead into a higher and fuller, perhaps somewhat esoteric, practice of Christianity. To Paul, these ideas and practices, partly of Jewish, partly of pagan origin, were but the tradition of men and the rudiments of the world. As he had maintained faith that worketh through love as all sufficient when combatting those who taught in Galatia that circumcision was a fundamental requirement, so here he maintains that all the fullness of the Godhead is in Christ; he is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation, in whom

all things were created. He is the Head from which all the body is supplied and knit together. All that is necessary is to walk in him, rooted and builded up in him, established in faith, abounding in thanksgiving. In place of their esoteric knowledge is the mystery which has been hid for ages, but is now manifested to God's saints—Christ in the Gentiles, the hope of glory.

With such phrases, Paul supplements his earlier teaching of salvation by faith in the dying, risen Christ with whom the believer has died and been raised to a new life and of Christ as the head of the body, the Church. The Christology has advanced beyond that of the earlier teachings. In him were all things created; in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. We have not met just these expressions before, although in II Corinthians he had been called the image of God. To many students these expressions seem so foreign to the usual thought and language of Paul that it has been inferred they must have come from some other pen, of a later writer who had adopted the Pauline theology and then built upon it a structure of his own thinking.

There is, however, no contradiction or contravention of Paul's earlier thought in these ideas. Nor is there any such petrification in Paul's mind as to make it even improbable that his thought of Christ should unfold along the lines of this epistle. His thought was ever developing to meet his new experiences of the new needs of the churches. He impresses us always as one whose philosophy develops most fruitfully when he is stimulated by some pressing need of his followers who are being led along false lines.

Epaphras has brought Paul a report of the conditions in Colossæ. This faithful fellow minister is anxious about the churches where he has labored in the interior of the Asian province. He had taught Paul's all-embracing doc-

trine of faith and love. This teaching has borne good fruit; but now the converts are in danger of being led astray by the idea that ceremony and ascetic practice mark a higher stage of religion, and apparently also by the felt necessity for the worship of beings intermediate between God and themselves.

The condition is not so immediately perilous as it was in Galatia. There the issue was between the type of Christianity taught by Paul, capable of becoming a world-religion, and a Christianity which must remain a limited sect of Judaism. That was, we saw, a life-and-death issue for the new religion. In Colossæ it was not ritual or the universal Savior, but the religion of the risen Christ with certain added practices that endangered his sole supremacy. The Pauline, Gentile Church proved itself able to survive the superadding of ceremonialism, asceticism, and worship of intermediate beings, although these things sadly warped its true growth. The prevalence of these Jewish-Pagan syncretisms in later generations shows how clear was the vision of Paul when he saw at their early appearance in Colossæ that they gravely threatened the purity of the Christocentric Gospel.

The phrases Paul uses to express the adequacy of Christ as against the speculations rife in Colossæ, suggest to most interpreters that already those theosophic speculations concerning the Divine nature, which were to grow into the peril of Gnosticism a few decades later, were appearing in that region of seething philosophies. The essence of theosophy is found in speculative constructions of the Divine nature. It stands in sharp contrast to the sober reasoning from the things that are made to the everlasting power and divinity of their maker such as Paul demanded from the Gentiles in his epistle to the Romans, or again in contrast to his reasoning in this epistle from the gracious Jesus of

earthly presence and heavenly spirit to the invisible God.

It is very probable that theosophic speculation concerning the fullness of the Godhead that appealed to the unwholesome craving for mystery accessible only to the especially initiated, led Paul to develop his thought of Christ as the image of the invisible God along the lines suggested by the phrases, "the first born of all creation," "in whom dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." It is probable too, that he was led to style the dispensation of God which had been given to him in his ministry to the Gentiles as the riches of the glory of this *mystery* among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory, by the speculations of those in Asia who were trying to superadd the attractions of a mystery religion to Paul's Gospel, which in the broad sweep of its lines was too simple for them.

Yet, after all, it is a very short step from Paul's rhapsody in Romans: O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God: how unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord?—a very short and natural step from such expressions to the riches of the glory of this mystery.

In Ephesians, we read of the riches of the glory of his inheritance, the riches of his grace, the unsearchable riches of Christ; and we read of the mystery of Christ, that the Gentiles are fellow heirs, fellow members of the body, fellow partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus. Such thoughts and phrases are closely similar to those that have a new ring in Colossians, yet they are not the mechanical repetition of a mere imitator. If they are not the writing of Paul, they certainly come from one who has so assimilated the language and thought of Colossians that he thinks and feels in the same terms. The explanation seems to be that Ephesians was written at about the same time as Colossians and intended to be sent to another church or

churches in the same region, which were also to be visited by Tychicus.⁷

That *Ephesians* was not designed exclusively or primarily for the Church in Ephesus is almost certain from its lack of the personal note and the specific references which uniformly characterize Paul's epistles to individual churches. It is much more general in its tone than the letters to the churches in Colossæ and Rome which Paul had never visited. So marked is this characteristic that the writing is sometimes classed as a homily in epistolary form rather than a true epistle. In confirmation of the impression from its general character that it could not have been intended primarily for the Church in Ephesus where Paul was known so intimately, we may note the fact that Paul conceived some of the readers as possibly ignorant of the Gospel message which was given to him for them,⁸ and the further facts that some of the most ancient manuscripts of the epistle omit the words, "in Ephesus," from the salutation and that Marcion in the middle of the second century regarded it as written to the Laodiceans. It is indeed possible that it may be the letter referred to in *Colossians* where Paul asks that the letter to Colossæ be sent to Laodicea and that the *Colossians* read the epistle from Laodicea. Whether that is the case or not, *Ephesians* is best interpreted as a circular letter originally designed for various churches which Tychicus was to visit on his return to Asia. This supposition explains its general and impersonal character and the early uncertainty concerning its original address.

If this is the true explanation of the peculiarities of *Ephesians*, it seems that when Paul had written to Colossæ to meet the dangerous speculations which had appeared there, he thought it wise to forestall such possible tendencies in neighboring churches by writing this similar but more general discussion of the complete richness and

⁷ vi. 21-22.

⁸ iii. 2.

fullness in Christ. Building on his earlier fundamental doctrines of the Christians as no longer dead through sin but raised up alive with Christ and of Christ dwelling in their hearts through faith so that they may be rooted and grounded in love, he goes on to the idea of apprehending the breadth, length, height, and depth—of knowing the love of Christ which passes knowledge and being filled unto all the fullness of God.

In previous writings he has called Christ the head, the one through whom and unto whom all things were created. Now he speaks of God as having raised Christ to his right hand far above all rule and dominion, of having put all things in subjection under his feet, and of giving him to be head over all things to the Church which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all. It has been said that Paul now for the first time preaches "not simply the unity of the Church, but the unity of the Church in Jesus Christ supreme."⁹ In doing so, he unfolds the implications of his favorite thought of Christ the head and the Church the body.

In the Christological doctrine of Ephesians, as well as of Colossians, we have, it is true, new modes of expression that bring out more fully the eternal significance of him who was ever to Paul the risen Lord whom he had met on the Damascus road; but such development never shows any change from the basic convictions on which the Apostle's thought and life had rested ever since he had died with Christ and been raised with him to newness of life. From the psychological point of view it is more difficult to believe that another mind could develop these new aspects of Paul's thought without betraying more difference from the foundations of his thinking than to accept the Pauline authorship of Ephesians and Colossians. If it be even approximately true, as Harnack averred many years ago,

⁹ M. W. Jacobus, quoted by Moffatt, *Introduction*, p. 393.

that "in the second century only one Christian took the trouble to understand Paul" and that "he misunderstood him," it would be rather remarkable if there were a number of writers in the first century who so fully understood him that they could weave his fundamental doctrines into their own writings so as to make it very difficult ever to determine their pseudonymous character. Yet, such seems to be the conclusion of those who admit the Pauline authorship of some of the epistles but deny it to any considerable number of those written in the name of this great, original personality.

In both Colossians and Ephesians, the practical exhortations grow logically and almost insensibly out of the doctrinal discussion as is regularly the case in Paul's writings. The high state to which they have been called, the new life to which they have been raised, demand the putting away of all kinds of sin: of uncleanness, of wrath and envy, of falsehood, dishonesty, and drunkenness. The new life in Christ is one of meekness, compassion, kindness, truth, and love. It is a life in which each fills his proper place; the dishonest learn to work for an honest living; wives, husbands, fathers, children, all perform the duties of the social order fittingly and heartily, as to the Lord.

We cannot conceive how Paul, the aged, the prisoner of the Lord, could have written more appropriately to meet the needs of the Christians in Colossæ who were seeking a higher truth and fuller life along lines that led away from the true sources of the most abundant life. This is especially the case, if Paul followed the Colossian letter by the fuller and more general epistle which in its travels was to reach the Colossian Christians after they had read their own more personal communication. Their craving to be initiated into the "mystery" and to reach the more exalted stages of worship and self-discipline were answered with the solved mystery of the eternal purpose, with the very fullness of

God as the life into which the Christian was raised, with the vision of a social order working harmoniously in its interrelated parts. And then, how delicately, without suggesting the actual presence of error, the second epistle guards the neighboring churches against such mistakes as had been reported to Paul from Colossæ!

The letter to the Philippians is only less personal than that to Philemon. It was written to Paul's most loyal and best loved Church on the occasion of the return of Epaphroditus who had come to Paul in his imprisonment with gifts from the Christians at Philippi. Epaphroditus had been very ill while in Rome and was now anxious to return home to those who were troubled by the reports they had heard of his severe sickness. Paul seems to fear that the friends who have sent this representative may feel that he has not accomplished the purpose of his mission and urges them to receive and honor him because he has very nearly met his death in performing service on their behalf for the work of Christ and for Paul.

The letter was evidently written when the Apostle had already been a prisoner in Rome for a considerable period. Most of those who were with him when he sent the three letters to Asia have now left him. Paul hopes soon to send Timothy to Macedonia; he is the only one he has to send to care for their condition and to bring him back report from them. Where Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke have now gone he does not say; from II Timothy we learn that Demas forsook him and went to Thessalonica. The tone of the letter indicates that Paul is feeling somewhat lonely and a bit helpless to maintain close relations with his churches without the group of trusted associates whom he had been accustomed to have at hand to do his bidding. His relations with the Roman Church to which he had written at such length from Corinth, four or five years before, are not clear. As we have seen, the Book of Acts

knows of brethren coming out to meet Paul on his journey to Rome, but after that records only conferences with the leading Jews of the city. Even if the Roman Church was sympathetic and appreciative, it was not of his founding and would not look to the prisoner for constant, pastoral supervision. Very possibly, it was not wholly sympathetic with his distinctive teaching. There were those, probably in Rome, who were preaching Christ in a spirit of rivalry, for the very purpose of causing Paul distress in his bonds.

The bitter warning against evil workers of the concision with which Paul suddenly breaks forth in the third chapter, followed by the statement of his own claims as a Pharisee and of his early persecution of Christianity, suggests that Jews or Jewish Christians have been active in opposition to his teaching. The brief treatment of the subject, without any argument like that of Galatians or Romans, indicates that he has no idea that the Philippians are in danger of being led astray by any such propaganda as that which had called forth the Epistle to the Galatians. It is probably some fresh instance of the machinations of Jews or Jewish Christians in Rome that is the immediate occasion for the warning against any such who may be in Philippi.

At the time of writing to the Philippians, Paul is expecting that his fate will soon be determined by Nero. He hopes, for their sake, to be released and to visit them, but there appears an undercurrent of uncertainty as to the outcome of his trial. For his own part, he is quite ready to meet death, which would mean for him to depart and to be with Christ.

It is evident that he has now given up the thought of the visible return of Christ and the consummation of all things before the close of his own life—an expectation which was so prominent when he wrote to the Thessalonians ten years before. Now the alternative possibilities for him are a release from imprisonment and a revisiting of his friends,

or a departure to be with Christ. His old hope too of being able to carry the Gospel to Spain finds no mention in this or the other imprisonment epistles.

These are some of the gray tones as the lonely captive writes after three years and more of the experiences of a prisoner, always hoping for release, always disappointed, month after month. The restless spirit may have been somewhat depressed, but it has not been broken by enforced inactivity. Chained, after the Roman fashion, to the soldier who guarded him, he had found opportunity to win one after another of his guards, so that the things which had happened had turned out unto the progress of the Gospel and the whole prætorian guard had been influenced; even members of the Emperor's household had come into the Christian fellowship. Paul's influence thus exerted had given boldness to others to preach, some sincerely, in accord with him, others in a factious spirit. Whatever the motive, he rejoiced that Christ was being proclaimed in Rome.

All these glimpses of Paul, his condition, his hopes, the work that he has been able to accomplish despite his bonds, are incidental to the main purpose of the letter to the Philippians. The real purpose was the commendation of Epaphroditus on his return home and an expression of love and gratitude to the Church which had been the first-fruits of his labors when he crossed over from Asia to Europe on his second missionary journey years before, and whose loyal devotion had never faltered through all the vicissitudes of the years. At the very beginning, their contribution for his need had come to him when he had left them and gone on to Thessalonica, and their loving solicitude had not flagged; even now in his imprisonment they had sent Epaphroditus to bring their gifts to Rome.

No elaborate presentation of needed doctrine is found in this very personal letter. Urging them to have the

mind of Christ, he does briefly present the doctrine of the *Kenosis*, the Divine emptying, in the classic words: who existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself unto death, yea, the death of the cross.¹⁰ Paul seems to be choosing his language in this passage with great care. The word translated "form" was used by the Greek philosophical writers to denote the specific character or essential form, while the words translated "likeness" and "fashion" mean no more than resemblance and shape distinguished from the word used for "form" as the outward and accidental from the inward and essential. If Paul is using these words with the scientific precision that seems to characterize his language here, he says that Jesus, who had the specific character of God, took the specific character of a servant; but he does not affirm that he assumed the specific character of humanity although he did appear in its outward form.

This is another of the passages in Paul's latest epistles which seems to go beyond his earlier doctrine of Christ, and so it has roused the suspicions of those scholars who almost seem to believe that any development of Paul's thought after the writing of the Epistle to the Romans is improbable if not impossible. Others maintain that it is only in form of expression that it goes beyond the words written at least five years before: For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich.¹¹ This view seems to go almost as far to the other extreme. The belief that Christ had the essential character and possibility of equality with God before his voluntary humiliation may have been held by

¹⁰ ii. 6-8.

¹¹ II Cor. viii. 9.

Paul when he wrote those notable words to the Corinthians, but it is not definitely stated there.

We would say, as in the case of the debated utterances in Colossians and Ephesians, that the later thought seems a perfectly possible and natural development from the earlier, rather than something incompatible or the same thing in different words.

As there was no great error of thought in the Philippian Church to call for an elaborate doctrinal discussion, so there were no great moral evils or dangers to call for a long presentation of practical duties. Paul does urge the readers to be of one accord and one mind, doing nothing through faction or vainglory, but in lowliness of mind, each counting other better than himself. It is in this connection that he cites the example of Christ's self-emptying. Later in the letter we learn that there was some personal difference between two women, both of whom Paul had known as his sincere fellow-workers, and that he was eager to have the difference composed. Aside from that single instance, we hear of no definite evils and dangers such as were present in the Church at Thessalonica, or were rife in Corinth, and feared as possibilities in Rome and the cities of Asia. We may then view such practical instruction as the letter contains as a counsel of perfection from the matured experience of the Apostle, near the close of his earthly ministry.

Reading from this point of view, we find the Apostle praying that their love may abound yet more and more in beneficent deeds? No, not that, he knows from blessed experience that their love has already abounded in these. He prays that their love may abound more and more in knowledge and all discernment, so that they may approve the things that are excellent, or, as the margin of the American Standard Version reads, "distinguish the things that differ." The phrase is the same as that used in the

Epistle to the Romans where Paul refers to the Jew as instructed out of the law to make true moral distinctions.¹²

It is to misapprehend Paul indeed, to think that his doctrine of salvation by faith means salvation by belief on Christ. Paul's conception of faith is loyal devotion, as we noted long since. Faith to him is active, working through love, and love is greater than faith or hope. But love may be blind! Paul believes this to be true, not only of those spontaneous affections which we call indiscriminately "love," but of Christian love also, that spiritual bond which is based on respect for personality and directed by the will. In his own experience, he knew that his instruction in the Jewish law had first taught him discrimination between good and evil and he held that any instructed Jew thus had a great moral advantage. He knew equally well, through experience and observation, that such instruction failed to provide adequate motive-force to overcome the law of the members. In his instructed youth, he had found himself practicing the evil which he would not and failing to do the good which he approved. Delivered from the body of this death through Jesus Christ, he has at last learned, in whatsoever state he is, in abundance or a prisoner and in want, to be content. He feels the life welling up in him so that he exclaims: I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me. Yet he counts not himself to have attained and knows that this new impulse and power that comes through Christ needs guidance; so he prays that their love may abound in knowledge and all discernment, or more literally "in discernment and perception" (*aisthesis*), the word from which we get our name for the science that treats of the beautiful and the pleasing. For the Philippians who have been saved through faith, who have suffered in Christ's behalf, who ever abound in self-sacrificing love, Paul desires nothing less than fine,

¹² Rom. ii. 18.

discriminating, Christian culture. Like himself, like the racer, they must forget the things which are behind and stretch forward to the things which are before, speeding on to the mark of the upward calling of God in Christ Jesus.

Again we must recall that Paul had no written account of the life and teachings of Jesus to which he could refer the Philippians for detailed example and instruction. As when he wrote to their neighbors of Thessalonica, he could give for a concrete example of Christian living only the remembrance of his own manner of life for a few brief weeks among them. He himself, we must remind ourselves, evidently had no such detailed knowledge of the words and deeds of Jesus as can be gained from reading any one of the Synoptic Gospels. He had the moral instruction of the Old Testament, illumined by the knowledge of the self-sacrificing death and the resurrection of Jesus and such fragmentary acquaintance with the deeds and words as he had gained from his brief intercourse with Peter and other witnesses. He knew the dangers of pride and self-seeking in his own attainments as a young Doctor of the law and in the wretched bickerings within the churches he had founded. He urged that each count the other better than himself, having the mind of Christ who changed his form from that of God to that of a servant. He appealed to their heavenly citizenship as motive for living differently from those whose god was the belly.

And finally he gave them a counsel that has been called one of the greatest expressions of the principle of the Christian life: Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are reverend, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are chaste, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good omen, think on these things. If the Philippians would live in the realm of such thought, then Paul's prayer was sure of answer, their love would abound

more and more in knowledge and all discernment, so that they would approve the things that are excellent.

Just as one cannot acquire the finest culture in art or literature without constant contemplation of the works that are fine and beautiful, so Paul knew that one could not acquire moral culture—the ability to distinguish the things that are different—save by constant consideration of the things that are true and lovely. The man who wrote the letter to Philemon and this letter to his Philippian friends had refined his own nature in such contemplation. We find here the same exceptional combination of dignity, humility, and courtesy which was so characteristic of the earlier letter. It appears in the words concerning the returning Epaphroditus and in the writer's appreciation of his friends' thoughtful provision for his need. He is above asking for material things that he needs, but he is very appreciative of the spirit that prompts gifts and does not wish the givers to feel that their provision has not been of real help as it was intended to be. He early knew that he could trust these friends in Philippi, even to the extent of allowing them to give him material aid, a mark of confidence rare with the self-reliant Paul.

The Second Epistle to Timothy is very generally regarded as an elaboration by a later hand of some genuine Pauline material. The principal basis of this later homily seems to have been a short letter to Timothy written some little time after Philippians. When that epistle was written, Paul was waiting to see how his own case was likely to turn out before sending Timothy to the East. It is quite possible to select a few verses of II Timothy that are almost certainly from a letter written to Timothy some little time after his departure. Of the remainder of the epistle some portions are clearly not Pauline; others are undetermined.

From the portions that were in all probability written

by Paul¹³ we gather that the Christians of Asia had generally turned away from him, although Onesiphorus of Ephesus has been in Rome, sought Paul out, and visited him repeatedly. Demas who was with Paul early in his Roman imprisonment has forsaken him and gone to Thessalonica. Titus has gone across the Adriatic to Dalmatia, and another friend, Crescens, has gone to Galatia. Paul has evidently had a hearing in court since the departure of Timothy and has had to make his defense with no help from any of his friends or associates. He has, however, been conscious of the Divine presence, and strength given him so that the message might be proclaimed to the Gentiles, and, for the time, he has been delivered from death. Evidently his case has been adjourned for a later hearing.

¹³ II Tim. i. 1-5a, 7, 8, 15-18, iv. 6-8, 10, 16-19, 21b.

CHAPTER XVI

MARTYRDOM OF PAUL AND PETER

With the glimpses of the later days of Paul's Roman imprisonment the curtain falls upon the life of one who has exercised a wider influence upon the history of western civilization than any other we may name, except the Master.

From the latter part of the second century comes the tradition that Paul visited Spain, as we know he had hoped to do when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans. Clement of Rome, writing near the close of the first century, spoke of him as having "taught righteousness to all the world," and "reached the limits of the west." In the light of the later tradition, many have interpreted Clement's words as implying a Spanish mission. The view has further been supported by the fact that the Pastoral Epistles in their final form imply journeyings in the East, which cannot be fitted into Paul's movements as known from Acts and the other epistles.

From all these data a strong argument may be made for the belief that Paul was released at the end of the two years of detention in Rome and travelled extensively from the Aegean regions to Spain. Some maintain that the Book of the Acts implies that the author intended to write a third volume which they believe would have recorded these journeys. On the hypothesis of the release, it is supposed that II Timothy was written several years after Philippians and that, between the two, had intervened acquittal of Paul, journeys to the Aegean and Spain, and

rearrest. That Paul was put to death in Rome under Nero is not questioned; the debate concerns whether his execution occurred at the close of the two years named in Acts or at a subsequent time.

Quite aside from the difficulty of fitting the Pastoral Epistles into the life of Paul as otherwise known, the style and contents of much of the material in the letters is so un-Pauline that they must be supposed to be the work of a later hand; any genuine reminiscences of Paul's journeyings that they contain may be referred to the years before his arrest in Jerusalem. If we are unable to accept the Pastorals in their present form as letters of Paul, their evidence for a release from the Roman imprisonment ceases to be of weight, and the only ground for maintaining such a release becomes the supposed visit to Spain, which is not at all implied in the Pastorals.

The evidence for the Spanish visit is in itself quite inadequate to support the theory of release in the face of the apparent belief of most writers of the century following Paul's death that this occurred in Rome at the end of the two years' imprisonment, and the absence in any Spanish church of a tradition of Paul's visit. Paul was not the founder of the Church in Rome, his only stay in the city was as a prisoner, and any influence that he had upon the Church there was overshadowed by that of Peter; yet memory of his presence was preserved and developed by ecclesiastical tradition. St. Paul's without the Gates, standing on the supposed site of his execution, is visible witness to the tradition. In the churches of Spain, no such tradition is found.

Apart from Paul's hope to visit Spain and the comparatively late tradition, based probably upon the expression of this hope, it is doubtful whether "the end of the West" in *Clement* would have been generally interpreted as implying anything beyond Rome, much as it is customary to in-

interpret the phrase in Acts i.8, "unto the uttermost part of the earth," as meaning unto Rome. This much debated passage in *Clement* and the following paragraph indicate that Paul met his death in Rome not later than the Nero-nian persecution of the summer of 64 A.D. Clement writes: "Through jealousy and strife Paul showed the way to the prize of endurance; seven times he was in bonds, he was exiled, he was stoned, he was a herald both in the East and in the West, he gained the noble fame of his faith, he taught righteousness to all the world, and when he had reached the limits of the West he gave his testimony before the rulers, and thus passed from the world and was taken up into the Holy Place,—the greatest example of endurance.¹ The next paragraph speaks of those who died in the persecution as "gathered to" Peter and Paul.

It is from Tertullian of North Africa, writing a century later than Clement, that we first get the statement that Paul was beheaded. As a Roman citizen, he would be entitled to meet his death in this way, rather than by being thrown to the lions in the arena "to make a Roman holiday," in the way so many Christians suffered later, or by being covered with pitch and burned as a torch for Nero's chariot races. Since it had not yet become a recognized crime in the Roman Empire to be a Christian, Paul was probably executed on the charge made against him in Cæsarea at the beginning of his imprisonment, that he had incited riots throughout the world. If his Jewish opponents took the trouble to get evidence from Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, Achaia, any or all of these provinces, as well as from Jerusalem where his final arrest took place, they could readily make out a case quite strong enough to convince Nero that the prisoner had proved a troublesome disturber of the peace.

¹ *I Clement* v. 5-7. Translation of Kirsopp Lake in *The Loeb Classical Library*.

There seems no reasonable ground to doubt that Paul was executed in Rome not later than the summer of 64 A.D. How much earlier than that date his execution occurred, it is impossible to determine with certainty. Widely accepted systems of chronology would necessitate placing the time as late as 61 to 63 A.D., while other systems put it as early as 58. The chronology favored in the present volume, in general accord with the conclusions of Professor B. W. Bacon, would indicate the year 60 A.D.²

That Peter came to Rome, that he remained there long enough to make a dominant and permanent impression on the Roman Church, and that he met his death there, a martyr, is too strongly attested to need discussion. That the martyrdom occurred under Nero, hence not later than 68 A.D. is generally believed. The tradition of a twenty-five year episcopate of Peter in Rome is first found in Jerome in a writing dating from about 390 A.D. That Peter's death occurred not later than the persecution of 64 A.D. seems distinctly implied in the early writing of Clement quoted above, but other considerations connected with the dating of I Peter lead many to place the death as late as 67 A.D.

While Peter appears as the natural and recognized leader in the early days of the Church in Jerusalem, he soon engages in missionary activities outside the city, visiting among other places Lydda, Joppa, and Caesarea, as recorded in the ninth and tenth chapters of Acts. Paul's visit to Jerusalem three years after his conversion was for the purpose of seeing Peter who was there at that time. During the years that Paul was laboring in Syria and Cilicia, we know little of Peter's whereabouts and activities.

At some time during the rule of Herod Agrippa over Judæa (41-44 A.D.) Peter was arrested in pursuance of

²See *Expositor*, 5th Series, Vols. 7 and 10.

Agrippa's policy of placating his Jewish subjects. Being wonderfully delivered from a Jerusalem prison, he went to the house of Mary the mother of John Mark where many were gathered in prayer. Charging them to tell James and the brethren, he departed to some unnamed place. A little later, probably in the year 47, he took a prominent part in the Jerusalem Council which discussed the work of Paul and Barnabas among the Gentiles. It is noticeable at this time that Peter is no longer the recognized head of the Jerusalem Church; that position has passed to James, the Lord's brother. It was partly, perhaps, because of Peter's absences from Jerusalem and partly because the temperament of James, as well as his family relationship, fitted him for the difficult role of the leadership of the Jerusalem Church, that James came to displace Peter's primacy there.

At the time of the conference in Jerusalem, Peter was the recognized Apostle to the Jews as Paul was to the Gentiles. We next hear of him at Antioch where he had table fellowship with Gentile converts until certain came from James, when he drew back from this advanced position for a Jewish Christian. A few years later, there was a Peter party at Corinth,³ and it was well known there that Peter went about accompanied by his wife,⁴ although there is no adequate ground for believing that he had actually been in Corinth.

From the time of Paul's writing I Corinthians, we lose all sight of Peter until the time when he was in Rome. That must have been after Paul's death, or at least after the latest of the imprisonment epistles was written. With the number of personal references in those letters, it would be strange that there should be no allusion to Peter if he were in the city. No New Testament writing bears testimony to Peter's Roman sojourn, save that the reference

³I Cor. i. 12.

⁴I Cor. ix. 5.

to Babylon in I Peter is best interpreted as indicating that the letter was written in the capital city. As we have seen, Peter's death there is implied by Clement, writing from Rome only about thirty years after the Neronian persecution. A few years later, Ignatius writing to the Romans says: "I do not enjoin you as Peter and Paul did,"⁵ which implies that Peter as well as Paul had taught them. Throughout the subsequent decades of the second century, various Christian writers refer to Peter's presence in Rome as a well-known fact.

The system of chronology adopted in the present volume allows an interval of four years between the close of Paul's Roman imprisonment and the Neronian persecution. Peter might have come to Rome after Paul's death, spent several years there, and still met his death at such a time that the martyrs of Nero's persecution could have been "gathered unto Peter and Paul." That Peter met martyrdom in some form is sufficiently attested in the New Testament⁶ where enigmatic words of Jesus are interpreted *ex eventu* as signifying by what manner of death he should glorify God.

The greatest objection to holding that Peter's death occurred as early as the persecution is found in the difficulty of believing that I Peter could have been written at that time. To many scholars, it seems that the widespread persecution implied in the epistle indicates a date at least as late as Domitian's persecution in the early nineties, or even that of Hadrian in the early years of the second century. Even if we recognize, with other scholars, that the local attack of Nero upon the Christians may have given rise to many outbreaks against them in distant parts of the Empire, the extent of these indicated in I Peter seems to imply a time at least some months later than the summer of 64, when there had been time for knowledge of Nero's action to reach the provinces. We find ourselves

⁵ *Ad Rom.* iv.

⁶ John xxi. 19.

almost shut up to the alternatives: either those who perished in the summer of 64 were inaccurately referred to in the early writing of Clement as gathered to Peter and Paul, or Peter did not write the epistle. The arguments against the Petrine authorship on other grounds are strong, and yet, if we can believe that Peter survived the first outbreak of Nero's monstrous cruelty to the Christians of Rome, we may find the balance of probability favoring his authorship of the epistle.

With considerations thus balanced, we cannot say with positiveness whether Peter died in the year 64 or a few years later. Yet the evidence seems fully adequate to justify the generally accepted belief that he suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero, hence not later than the year 68; that he had spent some months or years in the city before his death; and that he had profound influence upon the Christian community there.

CHAPTER XVII

FIRST PETER

As indicated at the close of the preceding chapter, the authorship and date of the earlier and longer of the two epistles bearing the name of Peter must be regarded as uncertain. Peter's name appears in the epistolary greeting at the opening, but after that there is nothing in the contents of the letter, or "homily," that directly indicates the authorship of the great Apostle to the circumcision. The writer calls himself an Elder (Presbyter) and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, but nowhere lays claim to apostleship or any formal authority; he exhorts Presbyters simply as a fellow Presbyter. It has been well suggested that a later writer, assuming to speak in the name of Peter, might be expected to make greater claims for himself, as the author of II Peter does, and it has been inferred that the name Peter may have been prefixed to a writing originally anonymous.

The letter is addressed to Christians, chiefly Gentile Christians, throughout most of the provinces of Asia Minor north of the Taurus. It presupposes that unexampled persecution has come upon the Christians of these regions; its words are often interpreted as indicating that the mere fact of being a Christian has come to be classed as a recognized crime just as it is to be a murderer or a thief.¹ We have no specific knowledge that the persecution of the year 64 was at all widespread. According to Tacitus, Nero

¹ iv. 15-16.

was anxious to divert angry suspicion from himself and chose the Christians as an unpopular group upon whom he could lay the charge of having fired the city, but he overplayed the part and at last roused sympathy for those upon whom he inflicted such cruel suffering. Three decades later, when the issue of worshipping the emperor's image had been forced by Domitian, it came to be a crime against the State to be a follower of the Christ, since the Christians could not render the required homage to the emperor's effigy as the symbol of the unity and sovereignty of the Empire. If the epistle implies these conditions of Domitian's time, the writing by the Apostle Peter is precluded and we must conclude that it was either a pseudonymous document by a later hand or an anonymous writing ascribed to Peter by later conjecture.

It is maintained that the thought of the writer is quite too Pauline, his sympathy too much with Gentile Christianity for the great Apostle of the circumcision, his Greek too good, and his use of the Greek version of the Scriptures rather than the Hebrew too complete for the Galilean fisherman. Still further, it is argued that we cannot imagine one who had companied with Jesus throughout his entire public ministry writing such a letter as this without more specific references to the deeds and words of his Master.

It may be questioned whether the epistle does distinctly imply that it has come to be a recognized crime to bear the name of Christian and whether it indicates any greater and more widespread persecution than may very possibly have occurred in many districts when news came that the emperor had set the example by slaying the Christians of the Capital. The narrative of Acts and the references in the epistles of Paul show that the spread of the new religion was marked by violent outbreaks and persistent persecutions long before Nero took cognizance of its adher-

ents. The relatively good Greek of the epistle and the influence of the Septuagint on its Biblical references may be accounted for by the fact that it was professedly written by the hand of Silvanus² who may very well have put Peter's terse and picturesque speech into his own Greek.

The Pauline character of the thought is not so deep as is sometimes suggested; for example, Paul's conceptions of justification and of faith are absent. Parallels with Romans, I Corinthians, and Ephesians are, however, noticeable. These too may in part be due to the share that Paul's old associate Silvanus had in the composition. But Peter, in the latter years of his life, may conceivably have come into very full sympathy with the Pauline conception of the Gentiles as entering into the heritage of Abraham's children. He had been advocate for Paul and Barnabas at Jerusalem in support of their receiving Gentiles without circumcision, many years before this letter was written. At Antioch his natural impulse had been to enter into full social fellowship with the Gentile converts. Since those earlier days, he had traveled widely and had opportunity to discover for himself that the future of Christianity lay with the Gentile rather than the Jew. Unless he had come into a genuine sympathetic understanding of Gentile Christianity and its possibilities, it is difficult to see how he could have attained the commanding influence that he acquired in the Roman Church. There, he might have had opportunity to become familiar with the great presentation of Pauline doctrine in the Epistle to the Romans. The apparent influence of I Corinthians and Ephesians on I Peter is not so easily accounted for on the supposition of the Petrine authorship. Our ignorance as to the regions visited by Peter and our uncertainty about the original destination of Ephesians make it difficult to discuss the point. If Ephesians was a circular letter sent to various

² v. 12.

churches of Asia, two or three years before Peter came to Rome, it is not a wholly untenable assumption that Peter may have seen it during his travels, or that Silvanus may have put a copy of it into his hands in Rome. Similar surmises may be made as to Corinthians. Perhaps these are vain conjectures, but they are not beyond the realm of rational possibility. Those who deny the Pauline authorship of Ephesians may explain the resemblances as due to the dependence of that epistle on I Peter.

Aside from the permeating idea of the Gentiles entering upon the heritage of Israel, the resemblances to Paul's writings concern chiefly matters of moral conduct in the Christian's social relations; in this field there is no reason to suppose that Peter would be at all at variance with Paul's views. It is puzzling, however, to find his language on these subjects repeatedly bearing much closer resemblance to the words of Paul than to those of Jesus as given in the Gospel teachings. This is especially significant because we have strong grounds for holding that Peter had a large part in preserving and shaping the Gospel record of Jesus' life and words. There is no stronger argument against Peter's authorship of the epistle than this.

Paul's influence is not the only one felt by critics of this writing; it has in fact been styled a younger brother of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The idea of the Christians as "a holy priesthood"³ certainly sounds more like Hebrews than it does like Paul. In the idea that when Christ had been put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit, he went and preached to the spirits in prison that had been disobedient in the days of Noah,⁴ we have something very different from anything in Paul or Hebrews. The passage shows popular Jewish thought as it had earlier been formulated in the Enoch literature.

³ ii. 5.

⁴ iii. 19 *cf.* iv. 6.

In view of the various strains of thought and affinities in the writing, it is possible to reckon it as a representative of the common practical consciousness pervading the churches, a consciousness influenced but not controlled by the special ideas of Paul's theology.⁵ In this general consciousness, we may well find reflected the thought and feeling of the seventh decade of the first century rather than the tenth.

While much has been made of the absence of reflections of Peter's experience with Jesus, it seems to have been generally overlooked that the very first words after the salutation are most appropriate from the Apostle who denied his Lord: Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his great mercy begat us again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. Those might perhaps be the words of a Paulinist who had passed through something of Paul's own experience of dying with Christ and being raised with him in newness of life; but, if they are the words of Peter, they are the vital reminiscence of his unique experience. On that awesome night the Lord looked on Peter, and he went out and wept bitterly, went out into the shadow of death. He had denied his Master whom he loved with his whole strong, impulsive soul, and now it was too late to make amends! Spirit and hope dead within him, back to Galilee he went and turned to his nets to take up the old occupation. Then, to him first, came the vision of the risen Lord, afterward to the Twelve and to a great company. Whose experience could be more truly reflected than Peter's by those words: begat us again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead?

If after weighing the historical and psychological difficulties, we may still feel the balance of probability inclin-

⁵ So Moffatt, *Introduction*, pp. 330f.

ing toward the belief that we have in this epistle the genuine thought and spirit of Peter, however much its form may have been shaped by Silvanus, it gives us a most beautiful and inspiring view of the Apostle after the discipline of the years. If we are forced with many to the conviction that we are listening to some later voice, it is still a wonderful expression of some soul that knew the power of the revelation of Jesus Christ personally and had been an eye witness of the sufferings. With this knowledge the writer carried that "golden key" of which Philips Brooks spoke, with which to unlock the way of hope for others who must tread the path of suffering.

The historical background of the epistle is unquestionably a time of bitter persecution, its spirit is hope and triumph through Christ. There is in the writing none of that weak, mistaken spirit which seeks to escape suffering by denying its reality, or that cries peace, peace, where there is no peace. This Elder had in his young manhood been a witness of the sufferings of Christ and had come through suffering to be a partaker of the glory. He had found the faith proved by fire unto praise and glory and honor, far more precious than any gold purified in the furnace. Nor is there here the stoical solution of inevitable suffering. Such a solution may be open to a few strong souls and may command the admiration of weaker mortals; but stoical endurance is not sufficient to satisfy the Christian ideal of this Elder and witness of the sufferings of Christ. We may believe that he had not only witnessed the sufferings but had heard the promise to the sons of Zebedee: The cup that I drink, ye shall drink, and had come to know in his own experience that this was something far higher than to sit on the right hand or on the left hand of the King in his glory. The fiery, testing trial is not some strange thing; it makes those who experience it partakers of Christ's sufferings, so that they may rejoice and,

at the revelation of his glory, may rejoice with exceeding joy.

In the ordinary experiences of peaceful, prosperous living, it may be quite impossible for youth to comprehend or believe in the solution of the age-long problem of suffering presented in this epistle. But anyone closely associated with the best youth in the years 1914 to 1918 knows that they learned in the fiery trial a solution of suffering that included stoical indifference, but rose far above mere endurance into a triumph of the spirit that was life indeed. In the early years of the spread of Christianity in an uncomprehending, blindly hostile world, youth and age together found the solution of suffering in sharing the sufferings of Christ and being begotten again into a living hope.

If Peter be the writer of this epistle of hope, the author had from the earliest days of his apostleship known the experience of imprisonment; in the mid-years he had been arrested with the evident intention of putting him to death, as had just been done to his fellow-disciple James; through the years of his missionary travels and labors he can hardly have escaped many perils similar to those which are recorded for Paul; in the most recent years he must have known of the martyrdom of Paul in Rome and of James the Lord's brother in Jerusalem. Perhaps, through all the years, he had carried with him the assurance that he too should meet cruel death at the hands of men.⁶ It is notable, however, that he does not point to his own sufferings as credentials for right to speak to those in suffering or as encouragement to them. It is to the sufferings of Christ that he points them. We have had occasion to note more than once a lack in Paul's counsels due to his not having been a companion of Jesus during his ministry. In this epistle we feel the touch of one who had truly

⁶ John xxi. 18.

been, as he claims, a witness of the sufferings and who could thus lead others directly to the source of hope and triumph which he had known in his own experience.

It requires no conjecture, but only direct induction to know the writer of this epistle as a strong, balanced, wise, sympathetic Presbyter. Peter—the natural leader and spokesman of his fellows, albeit too prone to speak before careful thought, developed through the experience of denial, death, and rebirth into the Peter who spoke calmly and persuasively for the unhampered ministry of Paul and Barnabas and who at last was able to become the directing force of the early Church in Rome—may be the one whose refined faith, hope, and triumph mingled with the soundest practical advice for daily Christian living.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE JERUSALEM CHURCH AND ITS COLLECTION OF *LOGIA*—44-66 A.D.

Our recorded knowledge of the course of events in the Jerusalem Church throughout the entire period from 44 to 66 A.D. is of the most incidental and fragmentary sort. The one early historical narrative that deals with the Christian history of these years, the Book of the Acts, is concerned exclusively in this period with the spread of the Gospel as carried forward by Paul, so that its narrative touches Jerusalem only at two points—the Apostolic Council, about the year 47, and Paul's last visit and arrest, in the year 55.

We have already seen evidence from the Book of the Acts that James, the Lord's brother, had become the leading figure among the Jerusalem Christians as early as the time of Peter's arrest and deliverance, probably in the year 43 or 44, that he seemed to hold recognized primacy among the Jerusalem elders at the time of the Council, and that he was in similar position when Paul last visited the city. From Paul's allusions in Galatians, we have learned that James, Cephas, and John were reputed to be pillars at the time he went up for the conference, and that a little later James's emissaries were interfering in the practices of the Church in Antioch—the only clear instance we have of his authority being exercised outside of the Jerusalem community. From Josephus¹ we have the in-

¹ *Antiquities*, XX, 9, 1.

formation that James was tried before the Sanhedrin and condemned to death under the High Priest Ananus, in the interval between the death of the Procurator Festus and the arrival of his successor Albinus. This was probably in the year 62.

For a period of twenty years or more James was evidently the recognized leader of the Jerusalem Church and, for at least eighteen years of that time, he seems to have succeeded in keeping the peace with both the Roman and Jewish authorities. The ground of attack upon him when the hand of Rome was temporarily relaxed is not clear; but according to Josephus, its illegal character offended strict upholders of the law among the Jews themselves. Second century tradition relates that this head of the Jerusalem Church was known as "James the Just" by Jews as well as Christians.

How far the Church was organized as a body separate from the Synagogue, and whether James received any formal election or was given any official title we do not know. All that we do know indicates that the Jerusalem Christians continued full association with Temple and Synagogue, with regular practice of all their ancestral rites and ceremonies, and that they were quite as rigid as their neighbors in maintaining their ceremonial separation from Gentile contamination. Under these conditions their belief that Jesus was the Messiah ordinarily roused but little antagonism among the rigid Jews or their rulers in Jerusalem. Many and varied Messianic expectations were rife among the Jews in those days and those held in reference to the return of Jesus by these Jewish Christians were not so different from others as to seem dangerous to rigid Pharisees, nor were they of such a militant character, like those of the Zealots, as to excite the alarm of the Sadducean priests or the Roman officers. It was because Paul seemed to be breaking down the integrity of

Judaism with its exclusive customs, that his presence in the Temple caused a riot, and it was because he was the occasion of a public disturbance that the Roman authorities deprived him of his liberty.

During Paul's later missionary labors in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece, he was, we have seen, greatly concerned in securing a general contribution from his Gentile churches for the poor saints in Jerusalem. It was his hope that this tangible expression of gratitude to the mother Church might serve to bind together in fellowship the two branches of the one stem. In the hope of accomplishing this great purpose, he was willing to forego for the time his visit to Rome and his mission in Spain, and to face the personal danger that he knew was before him in going up to Jerusalem. The Book of the Acts makes little allusion to the contribution, and Paul's imprisonment epistles have no word to say of it. We must suppose that the gift was delivered by the representatives of the Gentile churches who went up to Jerusalem with Paul for that purpose, but we can be sure that, however much of gratitude there may have been on the part of individuals, Paul's hope of securing any real sense of union between the Jerusalem and the Gentile churches met with complete disappointment.

The undertaking was a splendidly conceived and executed plan, but no action on the part of the Gentile churches short of abandoning their liberty in Christ and adopting the initiatory and other rites of Judaism could have won the Jerusalem Church to full confidence and fellowship with them. The writer of Acts represents even James as chiefly concerned in having Paul prove to the Christians of Jerusalem who were all zealous for the law, by an act of ritual conformity, that he did not teach the Jewish followers of Christ to give up their ancestral ceremonies and customs. When Paul's compliance with the request re-

sulted in his arrest, so far as we know, neither James nor any of the elders who had received Paul and heard the story of God's work in his mission made any effort to help him or visited him at any time during his two years' imprisonment in Cæsarea. Their testimony might have been of some service at his first hearing before Felix.

Whether Peter ever returned to Jerusalem after the Apostolic Council and his departure to Antioch, we have no means of knowing. The man who came to Rome and became the dominant force in the Church there was scarcely one who would have been at home in the atmosphere of the Jerusalem Church in the latter days of his life. At the time of James's death, Peter was probably in Rome. According to later tradition, Symeon, a nephew of Joseph the husband of Mary, became the recognized head of the Jerusalem Church after the execution of James. In Palestine at this time matters were rapidly going from bad to worse, with unrest under the Roman rule developing into complete anarchy. The year of Nero's attack upon the Christians in Rome, Gessius Florus succeeded Albinus as Procurator in Palestine. The change marked a rapid development for the worse in the conditions prevailing in the country.

The data for the rather colorless picture given of Jerusalem Christianity from 44 to 66 A.D. have been found almost wholly in Paul's letters and in the Book of the Acts, the latter written by one whose interest in the community was chiefly as the starting point from which the new religion was to spread north and west. Paul's heart and life were deeply loyal to the Church in Jerusalem, and Luke shows no animosity, yet neither is a direct representative of that Church.

One of the greatest achievements of the last half-century of New Testament study gives us some knowledge of a document which was formulated in Jerusalem and which

shows us that some at least of the fellowship there were engaged in pursuits of the utmost significance and value to all future generations, it is to this document, written by some member or members of the Jerusalem Church that we owe the greater part of our knowledge of the teachings of Jesus. Certain lines of evidence point to the Apostle Matthew as the one who took the leading part in composing the collection of Jesus' sayings which became the principal source for the discourse material of our First and Third Gospels and perhaps also for some of the brief discourse that occurs in the Second Gospel. While the former tax collector Matthew may not have been the penman and actual compiler, it is generally recognized that the Jerusalem Church was the place in which the discourse, or *Logia*, document was written. We may leave the question as to the way Biblical scholarship has arrived at the knowledge of this Jerusalem document, and will consider it when we take up the composition of the Gospel of Luke. For the present we will confine ourselves to the content of the sayings of Jesus preserved by the Palestinian Christians.²

The document included at the beginning a short account of the preaching of John the Baptist, in which he called upon his hearers to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance and not to rely upon their descent from Abraham; God could of the very stones raise up children to Abraham. Every tree that bears not good fruit is about to be cut down and cast into the fire. One mightier than himself is coming. After this summons of John the Baptist, there followed the account of the threefold temptation of Jesus.

The actual teaching of Jesus in the document seems to

² An admirable attempt at a full reconstruction of the document may be found in Castor, *Matthew's Sayings of Jesus*. In the following pages only a paraphrastic summary and brief description is attempted.

have begun with the paradoxical sayings concerning the blessedness of poverty, hunger, sorrow, and persecution, and to have gone on with such startling injunctions as those to love enemies, to pray for those who do you wrong, to turn the other cheek to him who smites, to give the cloak to him who takes the coat, to give to him who asks, and to do to others as you would that they should do to you. If you love and treat well those who love and treat you well, you do no more than the publicans and Gentiles. Make your standard the perfection of your Heavenly Father.

Then follow terse and homely statements of certain "laws" and tendencies of life: Judge not that you be not judged; With what measure you measure it shall be measured to you; If blind man guides blind man, both fall into the ditch; Why do you perceive the twig in your brother's eye and offer to pluck it out and do not take note of the beam of wood in your own eye? Hypocrite, first pluck out the beam from your own eye and then you will see clearly to pluck out the twig from his. Good trees bear good fruit, bad trees worthless fruit; by their fruit you know them. Men do not gather clusters of grapes from brier bushes nor figs from thistles. The good man from the good treasure of his heart brings forth good, and the evil man evil, for out of the overflow of the heart the mouth speaks. Why do you call me Lord, Lord, and do not what I say? Every one who hears my words and does them is like a man who puts the foundation of his house upon the rock; and he who does them not is like a man who builds on land where there can be no firm foundation.

After these difficult ideals and homely truths, this early Jerusalem document told the story of the healing of the Centurion's servant in Capernaum culminating in Jesus' recognition of a Gentile's faith, and followed by the nar-

rative of John's sending two of his disciples to ask Jesus whether he was the one that was to come or they should look for another. In answer, Jesus applied his own principle of judging by the fruits and told them to tell John what they saw and heard—the blind, lame, lepers, and deaf healed, the dead raised and the poor having good tidings preached to them. Then he added this word: Blessed is he who shall not find occasion of stumbling in me.

When the messengers left, Jesus went on to speak about John, declaring that he was a prophet and more than a prophet, he was the one foretold as the messenger who should prepare the way. Among those born of women there was no one greater than John, yet the lesser in the kingdom of God was greater than he. This generation is like "peevish children" who will not respond to anything; John came an ascetic prophet and he was charged with having a demon; the Son of Man has come sharing the ordinary life of eating and drinking and he is accused of being a gluttonous man and the associate of low companions—Well, wisdom is justified by her children!

When one declared himself ready to follow anywhere, Jesus reminded him that he was more homeless than the foxes and the birds. When another wished to go and bury his father before following, he bade him to let the dead bury their own dead. To his disciples he said: The harvest is great, but the laborers are few, pray therefore the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into the harvest.

Then he sent his immediate followers forth as sheep in the midst of wolves to preach the advent of the kingdom and to heal, going from village to village, staying where they were received, spurning those places which rejected them; it would be more tolerable for Sodom in the great day, he declared, than for those cities. Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, places that had seen his mighty

works and had not repented, were doomed. The one who receives you, he says to those he sends out, receives me, and the one who receives me receives him who sent me.

Jesus gave thanks to the Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that he had given revelation to babes, rather than to the wise and prudent. He declared that all things were delivered to him by his Father, and that no one knew the Son except the Father, and no one the Father except the Son and he to whom the Son willed to reveal him. Blessed are your eyes and ears because they see and hear. Many prophets and great men desired to see what you see and hear, and did not. He teaches them to pray to the Father for the sanctification of his name and the coming of his kingdom, and then for daily bread, for forgiveness of sins, and to be kept from temptation; assuring them that if they ask and seek they shall obtain, for the heavenly Father is more ready to give than an earthly father.

To the astonishment of the people, he healed a dumb man, but some declared that it was through the great demon Beezeboul that he controlled lesser demons. Others asked for a sign. He told them that any kingdom divided against itself must fall and that if Satan were casting out Satan, his kingdom would fall. If I by Beezeboul cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out? he asked. They shall be your judges. But if I by the power of God cast them out, then the kingdom of God is come upon you. It is not possible to spoil a strong man unless he first be bound. Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven, except blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. When the unclean spirit goes out of a man and, returning, finds the abode swept and put in order, he brings other spirits more evil than himself to dwell with him, and the last state of the man is worse than the first. An evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign. There shall no sign be given it except the sign of the prophet Jonah. The men of Nineveh

shall condemn this generation in the judgment because they repented at the preaching of Jonah and a greater than Jonah is here. The queen of the South shall condemn this generation because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold, more than Solomon is here.

A lamp is not lighted to be put under a bushel measure, but on a lamp stand. The bodily light is the eye; whether or not the body is lighted depends on the soundness of the eye. Beware lest thy inner light be darkness. Woe to you Pharisees, hypocrites, because you wash the outside of cup and platter, but within you are full of extortion and wickedness. Woe to you who are so careful to fulfil the law of tithes in the matter of your almost valueless garden herbs and pass over the more important matters of the law, justice and mercy. These things it is necessary to do and not to neglect those. You bind heavy burdens on men, but do not lift a finger's weight of them yourselves. You build the tombs of the prophets whom your fathers killed. You close the kingdom; you do not yourselves enter in, and prevent those who are entering in.

To his disciples, Jesus said: Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees. There is nothing hidden which shall not be revealed; what was said privately shall be proclaimed on the housetops. Do not fear those who can kill the body, but cannot kill the soul, but fear him who can cast into Gehenna. God does not forget the insignificant sparrows; the hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not, you are of more value than many sparrows. Whoever confesses me before men, I will confess him before God; whoever denies me, I will deny. Be not anxious about your food and clothing; consider how God provides food for the birds and clothing for the flowers of the field; will he not much more provide for you? The Gentiles seek after these things, but your Father knows what things

you need. Seek his kingdom and these things shall be added unto you. Lay up your treasure in heaven where thieves do not steal, for where your treasure is there will your heart be. If the master of the house knew at what hour the thief was coming, he would watch and not permit his house to be broken into. Be prepared, for you do not know at what hour the Son of Man comes. Blessed is that servant whom his master finds performing his duty when he comes; he will place him over all his possessions. But the one who thinks his master delays his coming and begins to abuse his fellow servants and to live loosely, to him the master will come when he does not expect and will destroy him.

I did not come to send peace upon the earth, but discord, dividing those of the same household from one another. You know how to discern the signs of the weather, but you do not know how to discern the signs of the times. Agree with your adversary quickly while you are with him lest he deliver you up and you be cast into prison.

The kingdom of God is like a tiny grain of mustard seed which grows into a veritable tree. It is like leaven hidden in three measures of meal which permeates the whole.

Enter in through the narrow gate. Many shall claim association with me to whom I shall say: Depart from me, you who work evil. Men shall come from East and West and sit with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom, but you shall be cast out. The last shall be first and the first last. Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that kills the prophets, how often would I have gathered you as a bird gathers her young under her wings, but you would not. Your house is left to you. You shall see me no more until you say: blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord.

Question having been raised as to healing on the Sabbath, Jesus answered with a question as to whether they

would not immediately rescue one of their sheep if it fell into a pit on the Sabbath.

He enunciated the principle that whosoever exalts himself shall be abased and whosoever abases himself shall be exalted; and declared that only those were worthy of him who made him supreme above father, mother, son, or daughter and who took up their cross and followed him. Salt, he said, that has lost its savor is fit only to be thrown away.

If a man has a hundred sheep and one goes astray, he leaves the ninety and nine and goes to seek the one; when he finds it, he rejoices more than over the ninety and nine; so it is in heaven over one lost one. No servant can be loyal to two masters; you cannot loyally serve God and riches. The law and the prophets were until John the Baptist, from his days until now, every one presses violently into the kingdom. Heaven and earth shall pass away rather than one little part of a letter of the law fall.

Everyone who divorces his wife and marries another, commits adultery, and everyone who marries one who is divorced commits adultery.

Occasions of stumbling must come, but woe to him through whom they come. If your brother sins against you, admonish him; forgive him if he repents, seven times in the day. To one who has faith, the impossible is possible.

Do not be led astray when they say, Behold, here is the Messiah, or there! For just like the lightning flashing across the heavens shall be the Son of Man. As it was in the days of Noah, it shall be in the days of the Son of Man. They were eating and drinking and marrying until Noah entered into the ark and the flood came and destroyed them all. In that day let him who is on the house-top not go down to get his goods out of the house, and let him who is in the

field not go back. Whoever seeks to save his life shall lose it and whoever will lose it shall preserve it. Two men shall be together, the one shall be taken, the other left; two women shall be working together, the one shall be taken, the other left. Wherever the carcass is there the vultures will be gathered.

A certain man going to a distant country entrusted his money to his servants; when he returned he appointed each to responsible authority in proportion to the use he had made of the money, but the one who had done nothing with his trust was rebuked and the money that had been put in his care was taken from him.

In what a different atmosphere we have been moving from that of Paul's epistles! If such sayings and discourses as these indicate the subjects on which the Jerusalem Christians laid most emphasis, as they spake often with one another or instructed new converts from Judaism who were received into their number, we can readily see how foreign to each other were the Pauline and Judæan Christians. In these *logia* the Pharisees are condemned for their failure to live up to the standards of the law, the Jews are warned not to trust too much in their descent from Abraham, and are told that many will come from distant regions to share the fellowship of the Patriarchs; but there is no indication that there is any antinomy between Christianity and the most rigid Judaism. Of Paul's concept of salvation by faith and of dying with Christ and being raised with him to a new life there is no suggestion; indeed the death of Christ in any atoning significance is not spoken of. Yet there are sayings here which Paul would probably have used if he had known of them. If he could have quoted Jesus as saying that the law and the prophets were until John the Baptist, it might have been very useful in maintaining his contention of the temporary character of the law; but the saying that one

horn of a letter of the law should not fall, might not have fitted his argument so well.

On the side of practical religion and morals there is no such difference as with Paul's theology. The exalted requirement for absolute devotion to Christ, transcending all other obligations, is paralleled closely by Paul's conceptions, and the placing of justice and mercy above the laws of tithing fits well with his scale of values. Indeed, we cannot but feel that Paul would have made large use of the ethical teachings of this document if he had been acquainted with it. We have noted more than once how he was limited in his practical instructions by the lack of any considerable body of Jesus' moral teachings such as this that took shape within the Judæan Church where the living memory of the Master's word was gradually formed into a body of written teaching.

It seems very clear that there was as yet no such document when Paul spent his two weeks in Jerusalem with Peter, nor even years later, when he went up to Jerusalem to lay before them who were of repute the Gospel which he preached; those who were of repute imparted nothing to him. Eight years later still when he paid his last visit to Jerusalem, this material may already have assumed written form, although we find no indications in the imprisonment epistles that Paul had received any copy of it during his very brief intercourse with the Jerusalem Church before his arrest. On the whole, we are probably safe in concluding that Paul never had any such formulated body of Christ's words in his hand as that which we have been following in brief outline. Yet we can scarcely doubt that this body of teaching was taking shape in the Judæan Church while Paul was engaged in his missionary labors, and that it had assumed its completed form before the outbreak of the Jewish rebellion against Rome in the year 66.

The partial reconstruction of this document and the reading of it in the light of its literary origin opens to us a noble vista of the lofty ideals which were cherished and taught among the Judæan Christians and leads to still deeper regret that there could not have been a mutual understanding reached between the Jerusalem and Pauline Churches, since each had so much of inestimable value for the other. A little later the two streams of thought found more complete expression in the wonderful Jewish and Gentile Gospels of Matthew and Luke, and, interestingly enough, the Gentile Church welcomed the Jewish Gospel more fully than the Gentile, while the Jerusalem Church was self-doomed to go its separate way to ultimate extinction.

The style of Paul's writings was ever in accord with the spirit of his thought; unfolding profound and revolutionary conceptions, he reasoned from thought to thought in abstract terms, with only a few illustrations from nature or the homely activities of human life. Even his applications of truth to daily duty usually grew directly out of his preceding argument. Yet he was very far from being a closet philosopher primarily interested in working out his ideas to their ultimate issue in a self-consistent system of thought. The tumultuous stream of his thinking sometimes overflowed its banks and cut for itself a new channel quite other than that in which it had started; at other times, the implications of an idea so stirred his emotional nature that he left his argument for rhapsodical flights of poetical interpretation. Still Paul was fundamentally in his writing a reasoner, delighting to unfold the implications of his basic conceptions to their issue in a satisfying theory of life and history.

In our earliest collection of the teachings of Jesus the form is as different from that of Paul's writings as one can well imagine. Truths are set forth without any lengthy

argument in their support, as self-evident axioms or immediate deductions from common human experience. The rhetorical question, as: What went ye out to see? is used to catch attention and to lead on from negation to convincing affirmation. Even our barren summary of the contents of the document has indicated something of the concrete methods of inculcating moral and spiritual principles and of the wealth of illustration from homely experience and from nature—giving the cloak to the one who takes the coat, turning the other cheek, the blind man guiding the blind, the twig in the eye, grapes from brier bushes, figs from thistles, the house upon a rock foundation, contrary children who will play neither funeral nor wedding, the foxes' dens and the birds' nests, the harvest plenteous, the laborers few, sent forth as sheep among wolves—we might go on indefinitely with similar examples. Occasionally the concrete pictures and comparisons are expanded into those illustrative stories that we call parables, but even the parables which we can with certainty trace to this document are very brief and concise, suggestive rather than elaborated.

Truths that seem quite contrary to human experience and belief are stated in the simplest way as self-evident facts—Blessed are the hungry, the mourners. How elaborate and prosy in comparison was Socrates's method of rousing men to thought by question following question *ad indefinitum!* Even Paul with all his fire is labored in contrast to these brief utterances that challenge the deepest searchings of the human heart and the highest aspirations of the soul with a single winged word.

In noting these characteristics of thought and manner of expression, we are forced to the conviction that we are not dealing with the literary style of Matthew, or whoever the penman may have been. We are back in the earliest days, in the inner circle of Jesus' followers. They that

loved the Lord have spoken often to one another as they met privately in little groups. One has recalled this barbed saying that entered his heart and could never be taken from him; another has recalled that; thus out of the common memory of those who had companied with Jesus there has gradually been built up a body of genuine, vital memory of his very words.

Peter, James the son of Zebedee, and his brother John, these three who had come closest of all, doubtless had their part in the formation of this garnered treasure of memories in the twelve or fifteen years during which they continued in close association with the Jerusalem community. Then James was cut off by the hand of Agrippa, Peter was less and less present in Jerusalem as he went ever farther abroad in his mission to the Jews of the dispersion, and John perhaps ceased to make Jerusalem his headquarters, or possibly met a martyr's death. Untimely death may have cut off others of the Twelve, or they may have gone to live and labor in different regions.

But the precious deposit of memory was still preserved in the Jerusalem community and continued, we may infer, to take more and more fixed form as it was used in the instruction of converts, just as Theophilus had been instructed (Greek, "catechized," "taught by word of mouth") before Luke wrote his Gospel.³

Jesus had, ordinarily at least, spoken in the Aramaic dialect of his countrymen, and this document was doubtless written originally in the Jewish tongue, perhaps not far from the date when James the Lord's brother and head of the Jerusalem Church was put to death.

The scientific processes of New Testament criticism which have made it possible to reconstruct in some measure these earliest written records of Jesus have enabled us to come much closer to a knowledge of the actual form of his

³ Lk. i. 4.

teachings, as they were preserved by the common memory of the Apostles, than was possible a generation or two ago. The more nearly we thus get back to the immediate speech of Jesus, the more burning, convincing, convicting do his words become as the primal statement of the ultimate laws of life. The term "law" is here used not in the sense of mandate, but in the scientific sense of a "natural law," a uniformity of nature. It has been well said that we have here our Lord's own rule of life and his promises, and that "their noblest characteristic is their implicit assumption of the self-evidence of their claim, because man belongs to God."⁴ Natural laws, whether in the sphere of physical nature or in that of the mental and spiritual life, are not mandates, yet it must be remembered that the one who does not become adjusted to conformity with such laws is doomed inevitably to physical, mental, or spiritual death.

As an indication of the life of the Judæan Church, we may note the choice of material and its arrangement in this record of Jesus' teaching made before the "gospel-type" of literature had developed. The body of teaching included some of the root ideas of a Gentile mission; but these did not necessarily lead beyond the idea of a fellowship which should perpetuate the rites of Judaism. The new faith, if such it may be called, was to be a "bridge" over which the Gentiles might pass into Judaism and receive a share in its heritage of promise, but there appears no clear thought of Christianity as a new and separate religion, with its requirements in any opposition to the old.

If this be correctly interpreted as the material chosen and arranged in accordance with the needs of Christian teaching in Jerusalem, we cannot wonder that Paul's conception of Gentile Christianity and its relation to Judaism seemed something strange and dangerous there. Indeed, we may wonder that James could really be convinced that

⁴Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus*, p. 231.

Paul had been entrusted with the Gospel of the uncircumcision.

Turning from the difficult problem of the relation of Jew and Gentile in the new Messianic faith to the positive content of the teaching, we can but stand in awe before its ethical and spiritual assumptions in the absoluteness of their demands for self-surrender to the highest. Ethical teaching predominates, theological interpretation is noticeable by its absence, but the ethics are rooted in religion. The absolute sway of the spirit over the natural, physical wants here expected, is possible only to those who make their standard nothing lower than the perfection of the Heavenly Father.

Although this document shows "no interest in Christological apologetics," as do the Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and John, it preserves memories of the most exalted claims on the part of Jesus: A greater than Jonah or Solomon is here; John the forerunner is more than a prophet; the prophets desired to see and hear what you see and hear; Jesus alone knew and could reveal the Father; he who received him received the one who sent him; only those were worthy of him who put him before father, mother, son, or daughter. Thus the teachings bring us close to Jesus' words, selected and arranged for the instruction of the Christians in Jerusalem within the thirty or thirty-five years following his ministry.

Apparently the document contained little of narrative material, but what there is shows that the stories of Jesus' ministry when told in the Jerusalem Church were recounted with vividness, brevity, and point, as we see in the case of the healing of the Centurion's servant or the visit of the messengers from John.

CHAPTER XIX

EPISTLE OF JAMES

The Epistle of James is another writing which perhaps comes from the Jerusalem Church within the general period now under consideration. The authorship, date, and place of writing are all matters of debate and uncertainty. Early tradition in reference to the book is quite lacking, and the very nature of the composition precludes definite internal indications. It is not, in fact, an epistle written to any individual church or group of churches. The address gives greeting generally "to the twelve tribes which are of the dispersion" from "James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ." It was a hundred and fifty years after the death of James the Lord's brother that Origen named him as the writer, and all the intervening years are silent on the subject. A hundred years later still, the writing was among those whose inclusion in the canon of Scripture was disputed. Except for the salutation, the document has the form of a sermon or tract, rather than an epistle. The inference that it was originally an oral address and only later circulated in written form has often been made.

Strong arguments against the correctness of Origen's identification of the author with the head of the Jerusalem Church are adduced. Among these we may note: the lack of early recognition among Christian writers; the general absence of specific references to Jesus within the book, especially to his death, in the passage where the

prophets and Job are given as examples of suffering and patience;¹ and the writer's relative mastery of Greek language and form, manifesting itself in his use of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament and in a rhetorical and idiomatic style. With this knowledge of Greek may be coupled numerous reflections from the Old Testament and later Jewish literature as indicating altogether a considerable breadth of literary culture. These and other considerations have led many to the conclusion that the author was a Hellenistic Jewish Christian writing some decades after the death of James of Jerusalem.

In the past it has been held that the homily must have been written either before the acute controversy between Paulinism and Jewish Christianity had arisen or after it had subsided and Paul's doctrine of salvation had come to be abused in the interest of moral laxity. It seems clear that this doctrine had been enunciated and had come to be misapplied before the sermon was composed, so that the earlier date must be abandoned, and recent students have very generally adopted a date in the latter part of the first century.

Consideration of the collection of Jesus' teachings made in the Jerusalem Church at about the time of James's death may lessen the assurance that this homily must have been composed either before Paul's doctrinal epistles or considerably later than James's time. The ethical emphasis is what might have been expected in the community which selected and preserved the teachings reviewed in the preceding chapter. If the homily lacks the fervor and God-consciousness which transfused and glorified the ethical spirit of that document, the lack may be attributed to the temperament of the author quite as plausibly as to the lapse of time. If it was the resurrection appearance² that changed James from a doubter to a believer in the Mes-

¹v. 10-11.

²I Cor. xv. 7.

sianic character of Jesus, there is force in the argument that we should expect some reference to the death or resurrection in his writing. Yet it may be replied that he was not discussing that subject, but was dealing with the moral duties of the Christian, especially in view of the tendency on the part of some to substitute "faith" for moral conduct. A preacher should not be expected to give his whole belief in every fifteen-minute sermon, and it may well be doubted whether James had ever made Paul's connection between the resurrection faith and moral duties. Nothing that we hear of him from historical allusions and traditional impressions would lead us to believe that he had ever known such a complete uprooting and replanting of his life as Paul had experienced; he appears to have been incapable of such depth of experience. Had he known any such, he could not have kept the peace within the Jerusalem Church and between the Church and the authorities for twenty years—prophets do not usually make irenic bishops.

Apparently the *Logia* document, much longer than this homily, was equally lacking in references to Jesus' death and resurrection; while its characteristic teachings are reflected again and again in James: Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only; can a fig tree yield olives or a vine figs? but who art thou that judgest thy neighbor? and the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick, and the Lord shall raise him up. In this epistle we are commonly in just such a cold and pale reflection of the *Logia* spirit as one would expect from the James of history and tradition.

Is there anything in the homily that would be impossible or even unnatural as coming from James and addressed to the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem or those of the dispersion? The reflections of Paul's thought are not such as would be inconceivable for one who, like James, had come more than once into personal conference with

Paul and might easily have seen one or more of his epistles. The words of Paul which seem most clearly echoed in James are found in Romans, I Corinthians, and Galatians, all of which were written some years before the death of James; with the constant intercourse that evidently went on between the Christian groups, there had been ample time for any of these to be brought to his attention.

Again the attitude of the epistle toward the Pauline thought is what might be expected from one who tolerated Paul, with reservations. It is now generally recognized that it does not contain a polemic against the doctrine of salvation by faith, but against those who misrepresented and abused Paul's antithesis between faith and works. In one of his earliest epistles, Paul himself had warned his converts against such abuse;³ the evil may have become prevalent long before the death of James.

The similarities of the writing to I Peter suggest some difficulties to the conclusion that both could have been written by their traditional authors, for if they were, they were not many years apart. Some maintain that literary dependence is on the side of James, others that it is on the side of Peter. If I Peter was written by the Apostle, we have seen that it must have been at the very close of his life; this allows an interval of at least two years after the death of James. If the Epistle of James was sent out as an encyclical to the Jewish Christians of the dispersion during the lifetime of James of Jerusalem, it might easily have reached the Christians in Rome before Peter's death there. Without such direct connection, some at least of the common thoughts and expressions may be due to the earlier intimate association of Peter and James in the Jerusalem fellowship.

Whether the head of the Jerusalem Church could have written of "the law of liberty" may seem doubtful, but it

³ Gal. v. 13.

has been appropriately noted that it is not the Pauline doctrine of liberty *from* the law of which he is speaking. James would be well in accord with the teaching of Jesus as given in the Jerusalem document, if he met the misapplication of Paul's doctrine of liberty from the law with an assertion of the authority of the perfect (literally, "finished," "completed") law, the law of liberty. He and his associates, we may believe, found all the liberty they desired in Jesus' instructions viewed as the completion of the Mosaic law.

There remains the mastery of Greek and the combination of Jewish and Greek culture indicated in the Epistle of James as perhaps the greatest difficulty in supposing that it is the first-hand work of the son of the Galilean carpenter. While "Galilee of the Gentiles" was distinctly bilingual, a colloquial familiarity with Greek did not necessarily imply in a Galilean Jewish boy any such rhetorical freedom in written Greek as the writer of this homily displays. The *Logia* document is recognized as probably originally written in the Aramaic of Jesus' ordinary speech. The Epistle of James, it is maintained, is evidently an original Greek writing of which the rhetorical, Hellenistic style precludes the possibility of any Semitic original or authorship by one who was not accustomed to think in Greek; yet some evidence has been noted, in the language, of translation from a Semitic original,⁴ and even if it were incontrovertibly true that the Greek could not be that of the son of a humble Galilean home, there would still remain the possibility that a sermon of James was put into written form for the Jewish Christians of the dispersion by some Hellenistic Jewish Christian who had the excellent command of Greek not uncommon among them.

⁴ Professor Charles C. Torrey, who regards it as improbable that James was the author, yet believes that the original was Semitic, presumably Aramaic.

The tendency of all these considerations is simply to show the possibility that James the Lord's brother may have been the James who first formulated the thought of this writing; they do not prove that it was he. James was a common name; it was borne by two of the original twelve disciples as well as by the Lord's brother, and there may have been many Jameses among the first-century Christians. A study of this epistle in close connection with the collection of Jesus' sayings formulated within the Jerusalem Church, has, however, led the present writer to feel that we have in it a homily reflecting the thought and life of Jewish Christendom probably before the war of 66 to 70 A.D., rather than a writing coming from a period twenty-five years or more later.

Whenever the document was written, it adds a strikingly individual and illumining element to the literature of the New Testament as a whole. It has been compared to the street sermons, or diatribes, of the Stoic preachers and, again, with the discourses of "the Wise" in Israel, such as we see them in the opening chapters of Proverbs. In it we have an example of first-century, Jewish Christian preaching, very different in style and content from the sermons ascribed to Peter, Stephen, and Paul in the Book of the Acts.

It is not concerned with proving Jesus to be the Messiah, nor with the basic conceptions of theology with which Paul had to deal in addressing Gentile audiences. It is intended for those who acknowledge Jesus Christ as Lord, who are familiar with the Law, the Prophets, and the Wisdom Writings of the Jewish Scriptures; but who fall under the common human temptations of bodily passions, uncontrolled speech, and fawning upon wealth. Some, as we have noted, have adopted a perverted form of Paul's emphasis on faith.

The writer or speaker holds as his ideal a character

developed unto self-control, stability, and fruitful service for the unfortunate. It is the moral rather than the ritual side of the Old Testament law that concerns him, and this he has enriched with some of the most significant ethical teachings of Jesus. A completed moral law and a character completed, integrated, sound through active performing of that law and through the discipline of trial, with the ethical wisdom that is given of God in answer to prayer, this is his conception of the Christian faith and life; the coming of the Lord is his hope. Withal he would have suffering and joy sanctified by prayer and sacred hymn.

It is an admirable ideal of a moral and religious life, but it is drab and commonplace beside the burning stream of Paul's thought, the majestic call of Jesus in the *Logia*, or even the hope out of despair, the exultation in suffering of I Peter. Like Stoicism, the Mosaic Law, and the Old Testament Wisdom, it lacks the motive-power that there is in Jesus.

If this is typical of the religion of the Jerusalem Church, it is not difficult to see why that Church rejected Paul, why Peter left it to throw in his lot with the Christians of the West, and why the future was with Gentile rather than Jewish Christianity. If it is, as widely believed, a reflection of Christian life at the end of the century, it is a forerunner of the second-century degeneration from the high hopes and inspiring devotions of the earlier days of the Church.

In style, the concrete statements and homely illustrations are vivid and often exceedingly effective. There are not abstract terms, but objective pictures: Pure religion and undefiled is to visit the widows and fatherless in their affliction; if there come into your synagogue a man with a gold ring in fine clothing; if a brother or sister be naked and in lack of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Go in

peace; thou believest that God is one, thou doest well: the demons also believe and shudder.

Such vivid, homely preaching had its place in the first century and has its place in every age. We can but rejoice that, after generations of questioning or neglect, this writing was at last included in the New Testament canon. It is not the highest and fullest interpretation of the religion of Jesus, but it meets the needs of some in every generation. We may adapt Paul's words and exclaim: What then? Only that in every way Christ is proclaimed; and therein I rejoice! Herein Jewish ethics and wisdom are, at least, touched by the spirit of Jesus and so brought to greater perfection.

CHAPTER XX

THE FATEFUL YEARS 64 TO 70 A.D. AND THE BEGINNINGS OF GOSPEL STORY IN MARK

We have been able to follow in more or less of detail the rise and spread of Christianity from Jerusalem through Palestine, Cyprus, Syria, Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia to Rome, from the day of Pentecost in the spring of the year 30 to the time of the Neronian persecution in the summer of 64 A.D. At the end of this period, James the son of Zebedee, Paul, James the Lord's brother, and probably Peter were dead. Of the other early leaders we have lost sight, except as we have seen the possibility that Matthew was in Judæa and had there gathered the Logia of Jesus into a priceless document, written in the vernacular of Palestine. Of Andrew, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, James the son of Alphæus, Thaddæus, Simon Zealotes, and Matthias, who was selected to fill the place of Judas, we have heard nothing in all these years since the rise of the Church in Jerusalem; even John has disappeared from our knowledge since the Apostolic Conference, about the year 47.

In the early days we had record of the conversion of an officer of Candace, queen of the Nubian region south of the first cataract of the Nile. That is the only New Testament record of the spread of Christianity to Africa, although Egypt and North Africa to the west were important Christian centers at a relatively early date. Between Paul's missions in Achaia and Ephesus, an Alexandrian

Jew knowing the baptism of John, came to the Aegean regions visiting Ephesus and Corinth.¹ It would seem that at this time, about the year 52, there could have been no considerable body of followers of Jesus in Alexandria, or Apollos would have known of him as the Messiah anticipated by John. Later tradition connects the name of Mark with the founding of the Church in Alexandria, but we have no real knowledge of the establishment and early spread of Christianity along the southern shores of the Mediterranean; we can trace the advance during the first century only along the northern coasts.

The narrative in Acts and the references in Paul's epistles give no indications of the whereabouts of Barnabas after his separation from Paul, when he took his kinsman John Mark and went to Cyprus.² Of Mark we have heard again in the later epistles of Paul and in I Peter. When the letters to the Colossians and Philemon were written, Mark was with Paul in Rome. At that time, we saw that Paul was thinking of sending him on a mission to the East, for he charged the Colossians to receive him if he came. This was fully a decade after Paul had refused to take him on the second missionary journey, because he had failed to go on to the end of the first journey, into Asia Minor. When and how Mark had regained the confidence of Paul we do not know. If the passage containing II Timothy iv. 11, where Timothy is asked to bring Mark with him, because he is useful for ministering, is a genuine message of the Apostle, it indicates that already on the third missionary journey Mark was again associated with Paul.³ When Philippians was written at a later date in the Roman imprisonment, Mark was no longer with Paul. Possibly he had then gone to Asia on the mission proposed in Colossians, if I Peter was written from Rome by the

¹ Acts xviii. 24-28, I Cor i. 12.

² Acts xiv. 39.

³ See McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 409.

reputed author, Mark was again in the capital at about the year 64 and now associated with Peter. Very early and reasonably authentic tradition supports the connection of Mark with Peter. Papias on the authority of "the Elder" records that Mark was Peter's interpreter. The authority which Papias gives for this statement carries us back into the first-century memories of the facts.

It was at the house of Mark's mother that Peter found the early followers assembled at the time of his night release from his Jerusalem imprisonment, so that we may feel confident that Mark and Peter were well acquainted with each other before Barnabas and Saul took the young man with them to Antioch and forth on their mission. There is nothing to discredit the belief that Mark was again in Rome after Paul's death and was there assisting Peter as a "son"⁴ and serving as his interpreter.

Papias says: "Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately whatsoever he remembered. It was not, however, in exact order that he related the sayings or deeds of Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor accompanied him. But afterwards, as I said, he accompanied Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs of those who heard him, but without attempting to give a connected account of the Lord's sayings. So that Mark did not err in thus writing some things as he remembered them. For of one thing he took especial care, not to omit anything he had heard, and not to put anything fictitious into the statements."

Most scholars feel that there is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of this tradition coming from first-century authority. Papias implies that Mark wrote after he had ceased to hear Peter preach, and Irenæus, before the close of the second century, definitely states that it was after Peter's death. This, too, is in itself natural. The

⁴I Pet. v. 13.

outbreak of the Neronian persecution and the fact that the first great leaders of the Church were so rapidly being removed, afford a natural and sufficient occasion for putting into writing the narratives about the deeds and words of Jesus which Peter the eye-witness had been wont to recount, and which Mark may have translated for him to the hearers in Rome.

It might seem to us a natural thing to have told the story of the ministry in written form at an earlier date; but, when we recall the general expectation of Christ's speedy return to usher in the new age, which Paul had so ardently preached; or again, when we recall the custom in the schools of the rabbis of perpetuating the memory of their teachings by word of mouth, through many generations, and when we realize how all would prefer to hear the story from the lips of an eye and ear witness, we may not wonder that we have no knowledge of any written narrative of Jesus' ministry until after the death of the principal original witness. Even in our own day of perpetual writing and printing, we often prefer an oral report from one who has known a great personality or participated in great events to any published record. Papias, writing in the first half of the second century, tells how he sought in his youth to learn directly from those who had heard the Apostles, rather than from written documents.

Yet, it was not long after Peter's death that Mark wrote down whatever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ, especially as he had heard Peter recount them. It is thus generally recognized that the "Gospel according to Mark" really contains the Gospel according to Peter; or, as an early Christian writer called it, "The Memorabilia of Peter."

Question arises as to whether our present Mark is the original book of memorabilia or is a later work embodying the material from an earlier and briefer narrative. A de-

tailed comparison of Matthew and Luke with Mark shows clearly that the latter was the principal basis for the narrative of the public ministry used independently by the other two. Certain differences led some scholars in the past to the conclusion that it was an earlier and different form of the Gospel, an Ur-Marcus, that was used. This view has now been generally abandoned in favor of the conclusion that the authors of the First and Third Gospels had before them as they wrote, the Gospel of Mark substantially as it has come down to us.

Although the earlier argument for an Ur-Marcus is hardly available now as indicating important stages in the development of the Second Gospel, the internal structure and content of the book have led various recent students to the conclusion that it is a compilation from different documents and that the Petrine tradition is only one of the sources used by the final compiler. Professor Bacon, for example, finds evidence of an original Petrine tradition with which has been combined some material from the Jerusalem *Logia* and more from unidentified sources. The whole he believes to have been composed in its present form by "some ardently Pauline evangelist writing in Rome about 75 A.D."

Such attempts at analyzing Mark into earlier elements have not yet met with general acceptance, nor is there universal agreement that our canonical Mark dates from the period after the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70. Many would assign the book, relying largely on the form of the apocalyptic vision in chapter xiii, to the period between 64 and 70, probably the latter part of that period when the Jewish War of 66 to 70 was in its later stages. On either view, we find at least the nucleus of the story of Mark, with its vivid pictures of the ministry of Jesus, ascribed to the memories of what Peter had preached, in a written document soon after his death.

Most believe that John Mark was the recorder of these memories. He had been associated with the early Church in Jerusalem and for twenty years had been engaged in missionary activities as assistant of Barnabas, Paul, and finally of Peter. Detailed comparison of the three Synoptic Gospels (Mark, Matthew, and Luke) affords strong ground for the belief that the Jerusalem *Logia* document was somewhat used in connection with narratives from Peter's preaching, and there is no improbability in the belief that other elements, oral or written, entered into the composition. Whether John Mark was the final compiler or only the recorder of the Petrine element we may not be able to say with confidence; but there does not appear adequate ground for denying his authorship of the present book, even if we go as far as Bacon in ascribing a Pauline type of thought to it.

For the moment we may look at the portions of the book which admittedly rest back directly on the teaching of Peter and were put into written form soon after his death. The story begins with the call of Peter and Andrew, James and John, from their nets,⁵ followed by Jesus' teaching in the synagogue on the Sabbath and the astonishment of the people at his authoritative method in contrast to the appeal to authorities characteristic of the scribes.

The healing of a man supposed to be possessed by an evil spirit, and of Peter's wife's mother,⁶ led to a great gathering of the sick folk at the door of Peter's house.⁷ The next morning, going out to pray long before daylight, Jesus avoided the crowds which gathered and went to preach in the neighboring towns.⁸ Returning to Capernaum after some days, he was preaching to the people who crowded into the house, when one sick of the palsy was

⁵ i. 16-20.

⁷ i. 32-34a.

⁶ i. 21-23, 29-31.

⁸ i. 35-39.

lowered into the room through the roof, and Jesus healed him.⁹

Going out, he taught by the seaside and, as he passed by, called Levi the tax gatherer.¹⁰ Again, he taught from a boat while the multitude was on the shore.¹¹ There follows the narrative of the double healing, of the woman with an issue of blood and Jairus's daughter.¹² It was said that Jesus was John the Baptist risen from the dead.¹³

Going away to the borders of Tyre, Jesus healed the daughter of a Gentile woman.¹⁴ The feeding of the four thousand which comes into the narrative here, is ascribed to this document with hesitation.¹⁵ Going forth into the villages of Cæsarea Philippi, Jesus asked his disciples whom men thought him to be. This led to Peter's affirmation of belief that he was the Messiah.¹⁶ The confession is followed by promise that the kingdom of God shall come with power during the lifetime of some of those standing by.¹⁷ Asked concerning the prediction that Elijah must first come, Jesus declared that he had come.¹⁸

The multitude with the scribes were questioning his disciples.¹⁹ The disciples disputed about rank, and Jesus taught them that he who would be first should be last of all and servant of all.²⁰ The healing of blind Bartimæus is pictured, followed by the description of the triumphal entry, after which Jesus goes into the Temple and looks about, and then goes out to Bethany with the Twelve.²¹ The narrative of cleansing the Temple ensues, followed by the statement that every evening he went out of the city.²² The sequel of the cleansing is given in the account of the challenge of Jesus' authority to do these things,

⁹ ii. 1-5a, 11-12.

¹² v. 21-36, 38-43.

¹⁵ viii. 1-9.

¹⁸ ix. 11, 12a, 13.

²¹ xi. 1-8, 11.

¹⁰ ii. 13-14.

¹³ vi. 14b.

¹⁶ viii. 27-29.

¹⁹ ix. 14-17a.

²² xi. 15-17, 19.

¹¹ iv. 1.

¹⁴ vii. 24-30.

¹⁷ ix. 1.

²⁰ ix. 33-5.

which leads to his searching question as to the source of John's authority.²³ Fear of the multitude prevents the arrest of Jesus.²⁴

The Passover was near at hand, and the priests and scribes thought it unwise to risk a disturbance by arresting Jesus, but Judas offered to deliver him into the power of the chief priests.²⁵ The institution of the memorial supper intervenes in the narrative, followed by the warning to the disciples that the Shepherd is to be smitten and the sheep scattered, together with the incident of Peter's self-assurance and the especial warning to him.²⁶ There follows the agony in Gethsemane, the night betrayal and arrest, and Jesus' protest to those who seized him thus secretly as though he were a robber, and who had not taken him when he taught openly in the Temple.²⁷ Then comes the incident of the young man who had evidently risen hastily from his bed and come to Gethsemane, and who now fled leaving the cloth which he had thrown about himself, is here strangely inserted.²⁸ The central narrative continues with Peter's three denials in the court of the high-priest's house, as insults and physical violence were there heaped upon his Master.²⁹

In the morning, the Sanhedrin met and delivered Jesus bound to Pilate. The Governor, ready to follow his custom at the Passover season of showing executive clemency to some prisoner, offered the people the release of Jesus whom the Jewish authorities had delivered up. But the priests influenced the people to ask instead for a certain insurrectionist named Barabbas; so the Governor delivered Jesus to scourging and crucifixion.³⁰ As he died on the cross, the centurion watching exclaimed: "Truly this man was a son of god."

²³ xi. 27-33.²⁴ xii. 12a, c.²⁵ xiv. 1-2, 10-11.²⁶ xiv. 22-5, 29-31.²⁷ xiv. 32-41, 43-50.²⁸ xiv. 51-2.²⁹ xiv. 53-4, 65-72.³⁰ xv. 1, 6-15.

Some such series of incidents extending from the call of the four by the Sea of Galilee to the death on the cross rests admittedly on the authority of one who followed from that first calling to the mocking and buffeting in the high-priest's house.

It is the way in which some matter closely connected with the Jerusalem teaching document is inwoven with these narratives that makes it appear that the author of our Gospel of Mark knew the *Logia* document in addition to the teaching of Peter. There is no objection to the supposition that the collection of teachings had found its way from Jerusalem to Rome, especially if one having such early and close connections with the Jerusalem Church as John Mark continued to minister among the sadly depleted group of Christians there in the months following Nero's slaughter.

Material from other sources, memories of oral teachings or written fragments, may have been combined with Petrine narrative and *Logia* teaching and all shaped consciously by this first Gospel writer to give a picture of Jesus as the teaching, healing, risen, suffering Messiah. Literary analysis has not yet succeeded in separating and assigning the component elements of the whole in a way that has commanded general assent. The above summary includes the parts of the book which Professor Bacon has assigned to the tradition of Peter,³¹ material coinciding closely with that which Père Loisy independently assigned to the same ultimate source.³²

Whether the whole was shaped into the present book before the destruction of Jerusalem, or within the few years following that event, is not clearly discernible, but the range of possible date as usually held is very small, falling as it does within one decade. The single fact

³¹ B. W. Bacon, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*.

³² A. Loisy, *Les Évangiles Synoptiques*.

that the anticipated coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven is closely connected in time with the destruction of the Temple indicates of itself that the book could not have been written long after the year 70.³³ Many critics would place the time from 70 to 75 A.D., yet some considerations point to the years of the Jewish War of 66 to 70 as the more probable date. The allusions to the coming times of affliction are all explicable then, and the subsequent use of the book as a major source for Matthew and Luke makes it difficult to believe that it was composed as late as after the year 70, unless we put Matthew and Luke much later than that fateful year.

We therefore treat not only the Petrine nucleus of narrative, but the completed Gospel of Mark as a literary product of the sexennium between the persecution of Nero and the destruction of Jerusalem, in the belief that the author was one who had been an associate of both Paul and Peter and was moved to put into written form an account of the ministry of Jesus soon after the death of his former leaders.

Using such materials as he had, stored in memory or already in written form, he composed a little book of about twelve thousand words in the Greek, which, translated into English and printed in the form of the present volume, would not fill fifty pages. This was a book of a very different character from its Jerusalem predecessor. That was a manual of the teaching of Jesus; this was a narrative account of his ministry.

It was a narrative with a purpose, quite other than the mere effort to record and preserve the facts concerning a great teacher. The opening words indicate that the writer conceived his book to be a presentation of "the good news" of the Messiah, an evangel which had already won many thousands of converts all the way from Jerusalem to Rome.

A brief introduction presents John the Baptist as the

³³ xiii. 26.

prophetically anticipated forerunner and Jesus as the spiritually anointed (the Messiah) proclaimed by God as his well-pleasing son. Then follows the account of the Galilean ministry, beginning with the proclamation of the near approach of the kingdom of God. The gracious ministry of teaching and healing centers about the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee, but extends throughout the villages of all Galilee, and is at length multiplied by the sending forth of the Twelve, two by two, to preach repentance and heal the sick. The attention of Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee, who had killed John the Baptist, was attracted; scribes who had come down from Jerusalem criticized the laxity of Jesus' disciples in the observance of the religious ritual; then Jesus withdrew from Galilee with his immediate followers, going first to the borders of the Phœnician territory to the northwest of Galilee and later to the tetrarchy of Philip, to the east and northeast. Here Jesus accepts the confession of Peter that he is the Christ and begins to teach the way of the Cross.

Returning through Galilee, he journeys with his disciples through Peræa on his way to Jerusalem. Coming up from Jericho to Bethany, he prepares to present himself as the Prince of Peace by riding thence into Jerusalem upon an ass. He is proclaimed by the populace with hosannas as coming in the name of the Lord and introducing the kingdom of David; yet he goes quietly into the Temple, looks about, and passes out again to Bethany for the night. The next day he drives the nefarious traders out of the Temple court and draws down upon himself the wrath of the authorities. Yet he teaches in the sacred courts and, as he goes out with his disciples, foretells the coming downfall of the noble structure.

He institutes the memorial supper, is arrested in the garden of Gethsemane, and delivered up to crucifixion. He is buried in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea on the day

before the Sabbath, but early in the morning after the Sabbath had passed, Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James find the tomb empty. A young man clothed in white tells them that Jesus has risen and bids them go and tell the disciples and Peter that he would go before them into Galilee as he had told them.

Presumably the original Gospel of Mark contained some account of the appearances to Peter and the others in Galilee similar to that which Paul had received,³⁴ but this original ending early disappeared either through accident or suppression and was ultimately replaced in many manuscripts by a second-century account³⁵ of the resurrection appearances which is evidently a composite from the accounts in the other canonical Gospels.

In summary we may note that the book introduces the reader from the outset to the thought that Jesus was the Messiah, but represents him as refraining from making any such claims for himself until the immediate circle of his disciples have come to recognize him as such for themselves. Then he gives the startling new lesson of a suffering Messiah, rather than one who dominates by force. There is no theological elaboration of this new lesson either on the basis of Old Testament prophecy or Pauline doctrine of the death and resurrection. Instead, there is simple, objective presentation of the fact that after they had come to believe in him as Messiah, Jesus taught his disciples to anticipate his rejection and sufferings.

He is represented as repeatedly styling himself the Son of Man, a title which goes back through a Messianic passage in the Enoch literature to Daniel's vision of one like unto a son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, and may have been used by Jesus as a veiled Messianic claim. Since it was, however, a repeated designation of the prophet Ezekiel and might be used in the Aramaic idiom as a mere synonym

³⁴ I Cor. xv. 3ff.

³⁵ xvi. 9-19.

for "man," it did not in itself and apart from the context necessarily designate a Messiah. It is a phrase which Paul never uses in any of his extant writings and may be noted, together with the absence of the full Pauline doctrine of the death and resurrection, as a point against the view that the writer of this Gospel is an earnest Paulinist.

The book is obviously written with Gentile readers in mind; the translation of Aramaic words and explanation of Jewish customs makes this sufficiently apparent. The occurrence of Latin terms, including the explanation that two *lepta* make a *quadrans*, agrees well with the traditions which connect the supposed author with Rome. In fact, some who give little credit to the tradition of Mark's authorship find the Roman Church as the place of origin.

In its emphasis upon the suffering of Jesus this Gospel is closely akin to I Peter, but the practical significance of his sufferings as an encouragement to those who are called upon to face persecution in following him is not emphasized as in that epistle. James and John are told that they shall drink of the same cup as he drinks, but this is not interpreted as the refining of the pure gold of their faith or as an encouragement to endurance. In fact, the objectivity and general absence of speculation or direct application to immediate needs of readers are notable points of difference between Mark and the epistolary writings. Like the earliest narrators of ancient Israel, the writer is usually content to let deeds and words speak for themselves.

With this spirit and purpose, the style is in harmony. The author writes Greek that is usually grammatically correct, but not that of one who has been trained in rhetoric. He can picture a scene so that we see details with marvelous clearness—the expression on Jesus' face, the young man running as he comes to question Jesus, the green grass upon which the multitude drops down, the sun setting as the throngs gather about the door at evening.

Matthew and Luke, taking their narratives from Mark, commonly leave out just these touches which give reality to the scene. There is never elaborate description of the characters or background such as weights the pages of many modern writers. Even that which has been called Mark's "pleonastic method of composition" is not justly characterized as "redundant and even heavy." The repetition is such as an effective popular speaker must use, if he would have his hearers see and remember. Mark says, "at even, when the sun set, they brought unto him all that were sick." Matthew omits "when the sun set." Luke does better by leaving out "at even" and saving the sunset; but leaving out the general statement of time preceding the detail of the setting sun, he too fails to rouse the imagination and imprint the picture as Mark does. Mark adds, "and the whole city was gathered together at the door." Matthew and Luke leave this out as unnecessary. When we read them, we unconsciously supply the detail from Mark and may well be thankful that the earliest evangelist had never learned to prune in terror of all redundancy. He knew how a real speaker spoke and let him speak thus on the written page. If Jesus said, "Have ye never read what David did when he had need and hungered, he and those with him?" he spoke in a way to make clear his principle of a real need justifying exception to a usual rule and in a way to carry his hearers' minds along with his own as they thought first of the need, and then of the special form of the need, in the particular instance which he recalled to their minds. Matthew and Luke leave out the clause, "when he had need" and give us a less vivid picture of the speaker whom the common people heard gladly. That Mark is ever "heavy" as a narrator we cannot feel.

That his style is at times too rapid and unbroken, we may agree, with its constant consecution of clauses and

sentences united by an almost unvaried series of "ands," and of incidents constantly introduced by "again" or "immediately." We are given no time to take breath, and feel as though there were one behind us saying, "Hurry, hurry." If we do hurry on with the eager narrator, we find ourselves at the end of his story in a short hour, with many a wonderful picture distinctly recalled, yet all blended into an impression of a living, gracious, majestic personality, very man and very God. Had Mark had a command of the rich store of Greek connectives with their power of bringing out the subtle relations of thought to thought, men might praise his style more highly, but it is doubtful whether he would have succeeded in giving so true and vivid a picture of Jesus. Had he combined more of the teaching with the narrative, he would have given a more adequate picture; that was left for those who built upon his foundation.

If Mark wrote in Rome, about the year 68, the Jerusalem Christians may already have fled from the doomed city in accordance with the warning of the Master, or they may have continued there until shortly before the siege of Titus and not have left till late in the year 69. As the zealotic spirit of fanatical Judaism spread and grew into the terrible fanaticism and utter brutality of the assassin *sicarii*, the Jerusalem Christians must have shared the horror with which the intelligent classes, Pharisees and Sadducees alike, saw the madness spread.

At some time after the Zealots had forced the land into hopeless rebellion and before the final siege of Jerusalem began, the Christians knew that they should no longer remain in the doomed city, and so they fled, down across the Jordan and up the mountains that form the eastern boundary of the great valley, to a city of the Decapolis named Pella. Here they were in the midst of a Gentile population and out of the real scenes of war. Eusebius records that

they left Jerusalem in response to a Divine revelation given to approved men among them, but, if they knew any such warnings as those recorded in the thirteenth chapter of Mark and its parallels, it would not seem that they would need any special revelation to lead them to flee.

Their flight, however, at this crisis meant a permanent separation from Judaism. Henceforth no scrupulous observance of the law could reinstate them in the position of a tolerated division of Judaism. No doubt they still regarded themselves as the true Church and may have hoped to return to the sacred city, but their removal from it must have cost them much of such prestige and authority as they had throughout the far-spread Church up to the time of their withdrawal from the great religious center.

CHAPTER XXI

PALESTINIAN CHRISTIANITY AFTER 70 A.D. AND ITS GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

Of the Christians who withdrew from Jerusalem to Pella during the war of 66 to 70 we lose almost all definite trace. The second-century writer, Hegisippus, states that Symeon who had succeeded James as head of the Jerusalem Church¹ was put to death under Atticus, Governor of the province of Judæa in the time of Trajan. This suggests that the Christians had returned to Judæa at some time between the year 70 and the close of the century. The tradition that they returned to the city of Jerusalem seems negatived by the fact that the desolated site was only a Roman garrison. We may gain the most definite knowledge available to us concerning Palestinian Christianity during the years after the destruction of Jerusalem from the Gospel of Matthew, which was almost certainly written by a Palestinian, Jewish Christian, probably within a decade or two after the destruction of the sacred city.

The dominant purpose of the writer, to show Jesus as the fulfiller of Jewish law and prophecy, may indicate at once what one very able Jewish Christian was thinking most about in the years when the Temple ritual had been brought to a forcible end. Since, however, the book is so impersonal that it may justly be described as "communal in spirit," we may well believe that it gives us an insight into the thought and temper of the best Palestinian

¹ Ch. XVIII.

Christianity of the era, rather than a mere individual view.

Mark's Gospel had come from Rome to Palestine and furnished the writer of Matthew nearly all his narratives concerning the public ministry of Jesus. The fact that a Palestinian, Jewish Christian, writing within a few years after the death of Peter, made such exclusive use of Mark for his narrative is certainly strong testimony for the belief that Mark's book was regarded as resting on no less secure authority than that of Peter. Into this narrative was fitted a large amount of teaching material, taken from the Jerusalem *Logia*. Nearly four fifths ($53\frac{1}{2}$ out of 68 pages) of the book were compiled from these two sources. Of the remainder, a part, especially a number of parables, may have come from the *Logia*, but much was taken from independent sources, oral or written.

Of the material peculiar to this Gospel, we may note especially the genealogy, birth and infancy narratives,² eight parables, matter concerning the relation of Jesus' teaching to the law, the picture of the judgment,³ certain details concerning the death and resurrection, and many Old Testament quotations interpreted as normative predictions.

The purpose of the genealogy is to show that Jesus was the anticipated Jewish Messiah descended from Abraham in the line of David, but strangely enough, in view of what follows, the genealogy proves to be that of Joseph rather than Mary. The virgin birth, the birthplace, the slaughter of the innocents, and the flight into Egypt are all regarded as necessary fulfillments of the words of the prophets. We do not know from what source the author of the book obtained the genealogy and the infancy narratives.

Paul's belief in the Messiahship of Jesus rested upon the resurrection appearances, primarily upon the appear-

² i-ii.

³ xxv.

ance to himself. In his writings, there is no allusion to the miraculous birth, nor even to the Davidic descent. How early the Palestinian Christians began to emphasize the miraculous birth as ground of belief in Jesus' Divine sonship we do not know. It was not upon this ground, and apparently not upon the basis of Davidic descent, that Peter and the other Galilean disciples accepted Jesus as the Christ,⁴ and these certainly were not the grounds on which Jesus desired John the Baptist to judge whether or not he was the anticipated one.⁵ Indeed, we do not find these ideas in Mark or in the material which we may assign to the *Logia* document. In the address ascribed to Peter on the Day of Pentecost, the Davidic descent is taken for granted, but there, as with Paul, the emphasis is laid upon the resurrection.

The prominence given at the opening of Matthew to the miraculous birth and the genealogy and also to the idea that the external facts and circumstances of Jesus' life were in exact conformity with Old Testament prediction shows us that we have come into a very different atmosphere from that of the *Logia*, Mark's Gospel, or the writings of Paul. Men are now seeking proof other than the self-evidencing words and beneficent deeds. We have at the outset the key of the Gospel of Matthew as an argument for the Messiahship of Jesus. The infancy narratives present this from the point of view of the fulfillment of prophecy; in the Sermon on the Mount especially, we find the material concerning Jesus' relation to the law. It is there we are told that he came not to destroy but to fulfill,⁶ and that he said that one who broke one of the least commandments and taught men so should be called least in the kingdom, and went on to show how their obedience to the law must exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees by

⁴ Mk. viii. 27-29; Petrine material.

⁵ Mt. xi. 4-5, Lk. vii. 19-22; *Logia* material.

⁶ v. 17.

overcoming the motive desires of evil rather than simply restraining its overt acts. Some of the finest teachings found in any of the Gospels are connected with this idea of inner righteousness emphasized in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount; such an one is the emphasis upon almsgiving and prayer as a matter between the individual and his God rather than as an exhibition of righteousness before men.

Other notable teachings peculiar to this Gospel are the call to all who are weary and heavy laden ⁷ and the picture of the judgment with the final test of life in terms of kindness to the unfortunate. Parables given here and not elsewhere are those of the Tares, the Hid Treasure, the Pearl of Great Price, the Fish Net, the Laborers in the Vineyard, the Two Sons, the Marriage Feast, and the Ten Virgins.

Aside from the narratives of the infancy and of the death and resurrection, we have noted that this Gospel adds almost no events to the story as found in Mark. Even the basis of the account of the post-resurrection appearance in Galilee was presumably found in the original Gospel of Mark; we have seen that the point where that book was broken off left the reader looking forward to a Galilean appearance of the risen Lord. It is probable, however, that the Matthean account at this point is independent of the Marcan, which we may believe was in closer agreement with the account which Paul had received, very possibly from Peter when he went to Jerusalem "to get acquainted."

The Book of Matthew through its balanced combination of teaching and narrative gave a far richer and more varied portrait of Jesus than either of its principal sources. In fact, it so far superseded the Jerusalem *Logia* that the latter ceased to be reproduced and soon disappeared.

⁷xi. 28-30.

Only to a less degree did it displace the book of Mark, which barely survived. Of the many later Gospels, two, Luke and John, surpass Matthew in certain respects; yet, while Ernest Renan characterized Luke as "the most beautiful book in the world," he styled Matthew "the most important." Certainly it became the most widely read book in the world. Today it is safe to say that more people have read this Gospel than any other book in the world's literatures, ancient or modern.

Although we believe Matthew to have been written in Palestine by a Jewish Christian, it early displaced the Roman Gospel of Mark in the imperial city. Curiously enough its distinctive features which grew out of the needs of Jewish Christendom when the eye-witnesses had largely passed away, the Jerusalem Temple had been destroyed, and the mother Church dethroned, adapted it to meet the needs of the Church which was growing into its later position of authority in Gentile Christendom. The Romans responded to the argument from prophecy fulfilled in external detail, to the conception of Christ's teaching as a new and higher law, to the final command to go into all the world and baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and finally to the thought of a Church built upon Peter the Rock—Peter who had spent his last days and met his death in Rome.

Judaism was ecclesiastical, and the distinctively Jewish Gospel appealed to the thought and temper of the city where the *Ecclesia* became the dominant idea of Christianity. In the light of our knowledge of Roman characteristics, we can readily see how this book should have been preferred to the collection of the purely moral and religious teachings of the Judæan *Logia* and even to the rapid, vital portrait of the Marcan writing.

It is very possible that one of the written sources underlying the present book was a collection of Old Testament

proof-texts. The fact that there is a tendency to assimilate to the Septuagint form Old Testament quotations, or allusions taken from Mark, and that the Greek Version is evidently used also in the case of some other quotations, while many references are introduced by some such phrase as, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by" or, "then was fulfilled," lends some support to this hypothesis. In view of the fact that Jesus' suffering and death and, indeed, the whole tenor of his earthly mission was contradictory to the current ideas concerning a Messiah, it is reasonable to suppose that the Judæan Christians early compiled such collections of Old Testament passages to support their own beliefs and to use in their efforts to convince their countrymen; the need must have existed long before the composition of the Gospel of Matthew.⁸

Whatever his written sources may have been, the Evangelist used them with masterly hand for the execution of his purpose, thus giving a "massive unity" to the whole composition. We have noted how definitely the key is struck in the opening chapters containing the genealogy and infancy narratives. Then follows the introduction to the public ministry, giving the account of the forerunner and of the baptism and temptation. The basis of this seems to be Mark's brief narrative, but that is supplemented with material from the *Logia*, concerning John's preaching and the details of the temptation experience. Again using Mark as his foundation, the author records the beginning of the ministry in Galilee as following upon the arrest of John; he then recounts the call of the four. Into this dominantly Marcan account there is introduced one of the proof-texts to explain the removal from Nazareth to Capernaum.

⁸ If there was such a written collection, it no doubt contained among others the twelve passages of Matthew introduced by the formulas referred to above; these are: i. 23; ii. 6, 15, 18, 23; iii. 3; iv. 15f; viii. 17; xii. 18; xiii. 35; xxi. 5; xxvii. 9f.

After the call of the four, the writer gives a summary statement of Jesus' going about all Galilee teaching, preaching, and healing; of his fame spreading into all Syria; and of the multitudes following him from Galilee, Decapolis, Jerusalem, and Judæa, and beyond the Jordan. In this summary he freely combines and modifies separate statements of Mark in such a way as to form a general introduction to that which is to follow, in contrast to Mark's method of giving his general summary after a specific instance. This general statement of the teaching and healing throughout all Galilee and of the multitudes coming from all Palestine, northern and southern, western and eastern, brings us to the end of the fourth chapter as the book is now divided.

The next three chapters (v-vii) contain Matthew's great anthology of Jesus' ethical preaching. The basis is a consecutive section of the *Logia*, supplemented with similar material taken from later parts of the same document, inserted here and there, and with other teachings, especially those concerning Jesus' relation to the law. All is organized in a way to produce the great ethico-religious discourse universally recognized as supreme in all the world's literature of moral and religious instruction.

Having thus given his great presentation of the teaching, the writer next gathers from different parts of Mark's narrative a group of mighty works,⁹ mainly healings. These serve to exemplify the second aspect of the Galilean ministry indicated in the summary placed before the Sermon on the Mount. Again at the end of this section,¹⁰ we have a general statement of the ministry throughout the cities and villages; this seems at first a mere repetition of that which preceded the groups of teachings and healings, but proves to be really introductory to a new stage of the ministry. The former summary culminates in the multitudes follow-

⁹ viii-ix. 34.

¹⁰ ix. 35.

ing; this leads to the thought of the Master's compassion on the multitudes who were as sheep without a shepherd, and his consequent sending forth of the Twelve.¹¹

The basis of the account of the mission is taken from Mark's brief narrative¹² and is supplemented with material from various parts of Mark and of the *Logia*, with some further additions peculiar to Matthew. Significant among these latter is the careful limitation of the mission by forbidding the disciples to depart into a way of Gentiles or enter into a city of Samaritans and directing them to go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.¹³ On the other hand, Matthew omits Mark's account of the return of the Twelve with the report of their work.¹⁴

The sending out of the disciples is followed¹⁵ by the account of the visit of John's disciples and of Jesus' discourse on that occasion. The narrative is taken from the *Logia*, but, characteristically, the discourse of Jesus is supplemented with material drawn from various parts of the *Logia* and some peculiar to this Gospel. At the close of the address, comes the beautiful invitation to all who labor and are heavy laden, found only in Matthew.

Chapter xii is concerned with a series of conflicts. It takes up the Marcan narrative at the point where it was dropped in the midst of chapter ix and follows it, with omissions and additions, throughout the chapter and indeed through the next, in which two parables given in Mark are supplemented with five others, so that this thirteenth chapter forms Matthew's great section of parables.

At the close of the parable chapter, Matthew resumes the Marcan narrative at a later point, where the rejection at Nazareth is recorded, and follows it, with a good deal of abbreviation and some additions, through the series of incidents that constitute the climax of the Galilean ministry.

¹¹ x.¹² Mk. vi. 7ff.¹³ x. 5b-6.¹⁴ Mk. vi. 30.¹⁵ xi.

These lead on to the successive withdrawals to the borders of Tyre and Sidon and to the district of Cæsarea Philippi where Jesus began to foretell his sufferings and death and was transfigured in the presence of Peter, James, and John. Still following the Marcan outline, we have the return to Galilee, a further foretelling of the death, and discourses on humility and offenses. To these discourses are appended teachings concerning reconciliation and forgiveness, including the parable of the unforgiving servant. With the possible exception of this parable, the teachings on reconciliation and forgiveness seem to be based upon selections from the *Logia* document, but throughout the long section from xiii. 53 through xviii, Matthew has added to Mark's narrative very little which we can assign to the *Logia*, except in the latter part of chapter xviii.

He has made three striking additions to Mark that are peculiar to his Gospel; in these Peter comes into great prominence. They are Peter's attempt to walk on the sea; Jesus' word to Peter concerning the building of his Church on this rock; and the incident of the Temple tax. It would be of deep interest to the historical student to know whence the writer of this Gospel obtained these three sections concerning Peter which are not in the book which owed its basic material to that Apostle. The reasons for including the second and third of these are obvious in our author's ecclesiastical interest and his emphasis on Jesus' fulfillment of the law.

Thus compiling from Mark and the *Logia* and supplementing with other material, almost wholly discourse, the writer of this Gospel presents a picture of the public ministry in its various aspects, grouping topically and yet following the general course of Mark's outline. After the preparation by the preaching of John, the baptism and temptation, and the call of the first disciples, there is given the great discourse known as the Sermon on the

Mount,¹⁶ then the series of mighty works,¹⁷ followed by the extension of the mission through the sending forth of the Twelve, the enquiry from John, the indifference of the Galilean cities, and the opposition of the Pharisees.¹⁸ After this section that shows the extension of the work and the questioning and opposition aroused, Jesus' method of setting forth the nature of the kingdom in parables is explained and exemplified at length; then the writer resumes the account of the movement of events that led to the ending of the more public ministry in Galilee, the withdrawals from Herod's territory, and the special preparation of the little group of disciples for the coming tragedy.

The story of the journey from Galilee to Jerusalem follows Mark closely, except for the insertion of the parable of the vineyard¹⁹ which is peculiar to this Gospel. Similar close adherence to Mark's order continues throughout the next seven chapters (xxi-xxvii), from the triumphal entry through the crucifixion. Into this narrative are inserted three more parables, the great picture of the Judgment,²⁰ the accounts of Judas's repentance,²¹ the acceptance of blood responsibility by the Jews,²² the earthquake and opening of the graves,²³ and the watch at the tomb,²⁴ all of which are peculiar to Matthew. Other additions to the Marcan account of the last week are the lament over Jerusalem, the teaching concerning faithfulness, and the parable of the talents, which seem to have been taken, at least in part, from the *Logia*.

In the visit of the women to the empty tomb, the writer continues to follow Mark's account, although with some addition, notably in the earthquake and rolling away of the stone by an angel, whose appearance was like lightning, and in the report of the watch. We have previously noted

¹⁶ v-vii.¹⁹ xx. 1-15.²² xxvii. 24-5.¹⁷ viii-ix.²⁰ xxv. 31-46.²³ xxvii. 51b-53.¹⁸ x-xii.²¹ xxvii. 3-10.²⁴ xxvii. 62-6.

that the Galilean appearance of the risen Lord to the disciples is not included in the original Gospel of Mark as it has come down to us, but is peculiar to Matthew among the Synoptics.

In this and preceding chapters, it has seemed necessary, even at the cost of great weariness for the reader, to follow rather closely the composition of the *Logia*, Mark, and Matthew, as it may now be read in the light of the patient labors of literary criticism, because in doing so we begin to understand the course of development of a distinctive type of literature that culminated in the most widely read and most significant books in all the world.

Perhaps we should regard the Gospel of Mark as a new type in the extant literature written by men of Jewish race and heritage. Whether it is such or not, there can be no question that in Matthew the Gospel has developed into a distinct literary form, quite different from anything that had preceded it in Jewish literature. It may be worth while to glance back over the writings of Israel in search of the literary ancestors of Mark and Matthew.

The historical literature of Israel, so far as we can trace it back, began with writings biographical in form rather than broadly historical. Such we find, by literary analysis of Samuel and Kings, in the early Saul cycles that tell the story of the young giant who went out to search his father's asses and found the way to a kingdom, or the early David stories that tell how the young shepherd came to supplant the house of Saul, or again, how the corruption of the new King and his family resulted in the elimination of the older sons and the placing of Solomon upon the throne. A little later there was a collection of narratives, vivid alike in action and speech, of which Elijah was the hero. None of these have been preserved as separate books, but as compiled with other materials in the religio-national histories. Yet it is clear that they were once individual documents.

The books of the Hebrew prophets have certain analogies with the Gospels, in that each type of writing is a record of the deeds and words of one central character. Often, in the case of the prophets as in the case of Jesus, these were gathered by the followers after the teacher's death; but the discourse element is so preponderant in such a book as Isaiah or even Jeremiah that the similarity with the Gospels is not very close.

Coming down to the first century B.C., there was wonderfully vivid writing, with individual heroes standing out from the page in the First Book of Maccabees; but this is history with individual leaders appearing prominently rather than a form of biographical writing such as we have in the Gospels. Ruth, Esther, Judith, Tobit, seem properly to be classed as short stories, whatever basis of historic fact may have underlain them. Each of them gives a selected and limited series of events leading up to a climax. It is difficult to say how far we can regard them as in any sense forerunners of the Gospel narrative. The books of the prophets and teachings of the sages offer closer analogy to the literary form of the *Logia* document than to the Gospels proper. Rabbis of the New Testament era had their traditional discourse committed to literary form at a much later date; in contemporary Judaism we know of no writings closely analogous either to the *Logia* or the Gospels.

The fact that Matthew and Luke, perhaps Mark also, are compilations from earlier documents is nothing new in Hebrew literature; compilation was the regular mode of Hebrew historical writing, as of the early English also. For the method of their composition and for the different elements that entered into Mark, Matthew, and Luke, we may find prototypes in Jewish literature, yet we have in the completed Gospel-form something new, so far as the writings of men of Hebraic race are known to us.

In the pre-Christian classical writings, the closest analogy to the Gospels that has been pointed out is found in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and Plato's *Dialogues*. It is easy to note parallelisms between the two groups of writings, in purpose, in the preservation of loving memories by disciples, in time interval between the actual teaching and the writing; but as literary forms, the *Memorabilia* and the *Dialogues* show far more differences than resemblances to the Synoptic Gospels. The *Memorabilia* provides brief indications of the occasions of the particular discourses, but no connecting narrative, while the *Dialogues*, however true they may be to the facts of Socrates's life and teaching, give largely imaginative settings. With all possible allowance for traditional, or even conscious developments in the Synoptic narratives and discourses, we do not find anything in them comparable to Plato's consciously artistic presentation of his hero.

Other ancient biographies which have been noted as most nearly like the Gospels are later products. Among these, Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* offers interesting comparison with the Gospels which long antedated it. But in that, there is no such masterly interweaving of sources as we find in Matthew. Philostratus joins his two main documents end to end and apparently makes little use of a third source to which he refers, the letters of Apollonius.

Biographical writing as distinct from the writing of general history had been practiced by the Greeks for more than four centuries prior to the writing of the Gospels; biographical elements had entered into the earliest and latest pre-Christian writings of Israel; yet the Gospel of Matthew stands out as an unique presentation of an individual person, through a grouped and balanced record of his words and deeds, of his impact upon the life of others, and of the varied reactions of different groups and

individuals. It gives a vivid impression of the reality not only of the central personality, but of different individuals and groups, and yet the whole is shaped not primarily through a biographical or dramatic purpose, but as an expression of a distinct interpretation of the significance of the central personality.

Among historians and biographers we meet few keener intellects and more skillful writers than that Palestinian Christian who, in the years after the destruction of Jerusalem, composed this book. We feel distinctly the individual hand of the author in the skillful marshaling of his varied materials and also in the changes he makes in the Marcan records that he uses. He omits and adds so as to minimize certain features dear to Mark (*e.g.*, the demoniacal recognition of Jesus) and to emphasize other traits not given in the earlier Gospel. In its cutting out the vivid touches by which Mark with a single word enables us to see the picture, the book seems inferior as literature to the earlier, simpler record. Possibly, had these been retained, they would have interfered with the clear-cut impression of certain aspects of the meaning of Jesus that this writer wished above all to present.

While the author seems to have been a Palestinian Jewish Christian, he had a greater freedom in the writing of Greek than Mark and at times brought the Marcan narratives themselves into a little more Hellenic Greek. Yet, like his predecessor, he was not trained in Greek literary methods. We doubt whether either of these Evangelists had ever read a Greek biography. Their innocence of such training makes their writing splendidly free from the literary self-consciousness of the later Greek and Roman writers. It is only when we make a careful comparative study of Matthew that we become conscious of the individual author. It has been well said that aside from the writings of Luke, "the New Testament literature may be

described as communal in origin; it approximates to the Hebrew rather than the Greek or Roman literature.”²⁵

The communal character of the New Testament literature is seen in the Gospel of Matthew as in the other books. In it there live the treasured memories of Jesus’ teachings as formulated by the common consciousness and needs of the Jerusalem Church through a generation of time, from the year 30 to the early sixties. In it, too, there live the memories of Peter’s pictures from the life of his Master, formulated with other materials to meet the needs of Gentile Christians in Rome after the horrors of Nero’s persecution. With these common treasures from East and West are inwoven the beautiful stories of the birth and infancy and many added teachings gathered from oral tradition or written record in Palestine. Then there are the interpretations of Jesus’ relation to the prophets and the law, which also were probably communal products of Palestinian Christianity, and there is an ecclesiastical prominence given to the Apostles that is not found in earlier writings, and a new picture of Jesus as the founder of a Church to which all nations should be admitted through the rite of baptism administered with Trinitarian formula. In these ecclesiastical phrases we may read the story of the transition of Palestinian Christianity from a Jewish sect, instructed in the synagogue and worshipping in the Temple, to a separate Christian Church with its distinct organization and rites fully substituted for the old order.

To some the ecclesiastical development seems to have gone so far that it is thought the Gospel of Matthew cannot be earlier than the last decade of the century. To many, on the other hand, it seems, as in the case of Mark, that the relation of the destruction of the Temple to an anti-

²⁵ Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 317.

pated speedy, second coming, implies a time soon after the year 70. If we realize how different was the thought, interest, and experience of the Palestinian Church from the Pauline, we may find it easy to believe that the Gospel of Matthew reflects the interpretation of Jesus possible for the best thinkers of Palestinian Christianity as early as the seventies. If, as is commonly believed, Matthew is earlier than Luke, one may find added reason for placing it in that decade. Similar uncertainty as to the precise time of writing prevails as to such famous memoirs as Plato's *Dialogues* and Xenophon's *Memorabilia*.

When the full significance of the communal character of Biblical writings is apprehended, it seems less important to know the name of the particular penman who is expressing the common experience and belief. In the case of the present Gospel, we shall probably never know the name of the compiler. That it could not have been Matthew, one of the primitive disciples, is evident when we acknowledge the evidence of the writer's almost complete dependence upon Mark for the general course of the Galilean ministry and the last week in Jerusalem. We have already noted that the compiler of the Palestinian *Logia* was very probably the Apostle Matthew. Since the material from that document was the principal element added to the Marcan narrative in the compilation of the larger Gospel, this might easily have been styled, in distinction from Mark, "according to Matthew."

It is always difficult for those trained in the ideas of individual authorship characteristic of European literature to adjust themselves to the absence of the name of the actual author, common to much of the Biblical literature, and indeed to many other early writings. After giving birth to this indescribably important little volume, the Palestinian Church as such ceases longer to play a significant part in the story of New Testament history and literature.

CHAPTER XXII

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY FROM 70 TO 90 A.D. AND ITS GOSPEL OF LUKE

As we turn back to the consideration of Gentile Christianity, we may recall for a moment what we know of the geographical extent of the churches and of their organization before we consider their life and work in the decade following the destruction of Jerusalem.

Unless the uncertain tradition of Paul's release and visit to Spain be true, we have no knowledge of any Christian mission farther west than Rome at the close of the great period of missionary expansion marked by the deaths of Paul and Peter, nor do we know to what extent Christianity had as yet spread in Egypt and North Africa, which by the second century became such strongholds of the Church. If I Peter is the genuine writing of the Apostle, its salutation implies that before the year 70, the new religion had spread from Galatia and Asia to the northernmost provinces of Asia Minor. If this epistle was not written before the persecution of Domitian, the northward extension of the Church indicated in it may not have been completed until some two decades later. Outside of Palestine and Syria we have, then, at the year 70, certain knowledge only of the spread of Christianity to Cyprus, Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, Achaia, and Rome.

The epistles of Paul give some clear indication of the simplicity of organization in the churches founded by him. He writes to Philemon near the end of his life as a fellow-

worker in whose house there is a church. As at Colossæ where Philemon lived, elsewhere in the Gentile world private houses frequently became the centers where groups of Christians were wont to meet together. Whether Aquila and Priscilla were in Corinth or, perhaps, in Ephesus, there was a church in their house.¹ Archippus, mentioned in Philemon and Colossians,² is evidently a resident at Colossæ who had received a "ministry" in the Lord to some other group of Christians in the same city.

In the Epistle to the Ephesians,³ Paul enumerates as those who are to perfect the saints and build up the body of Christ: apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors (shepherds), and teachers. Of bishops (overseers) we first hear a few months later in the Epistle to the Philippians, where deacons are also mentioned.⁴ It is suggested by the plural that the Church in Philippi already had more than one leader styled "overseer." The absence of the names in the rather full enumeration of church functionaries given in Ephesians suggests that bishop and deacon were not yet generally recognized titles in the churches of Asia. In writing to the Corinthians, a few years earlier, Paul had enumerated apostles, prophets, and teachers⁵ as placed in the Church by God.

At that time in the Church of Corinth there seems to have been no organization of government whatever. Paul as founder claims the right of oversight, but, neither by appointment from him nor by selection among themselves, do there appear any regular officers of the body. The picture that Paul gives of the disorder in their gatherings suggests that in this Gentile church there was not as yet anyone presiding at the meetings and exercising a general control over the order of their proceedings. Each was expected to exercise the gifts of preaching, prophesying,

¹ I Cor. xvi. 19; Rom. xvi. 5.

² iv. 11-12.

³ i. 1.

⁴ Phil. 2; Col. iv. 17.

⁵ I Cor. xii. 28.

speaking with tongues, as he himself might feel moved to do. Paul exhorts the Romans each to appropriate use of his special gift, whether of prophesying, ministering, teaching, exhorting, giving, ruling, or showing mercy, but gives no indication that he supposes there were any in the Roman Church who held official positions involving the performance of any of these functions. In short, the picture that we gain from the epistles of Paul suggests that the Gentile churches had not as yet adopted even the simplest formal and standardized organization. Those who were recognized as leaders were chiefly such because they undertook the work of apostles (missionaries), prophets, or teachers.

The writer of Acts, it is true, represents Paul as appointing "elders" in the South Galatian churches⁶ and Paul as sending for the elders of the Ephesian Church to meet him at Miletus,⁷ but Paul himself never alludes to elders, official or otherwise, in any of his writings. If he had appointed such as officers in the Galatian churches, it is strange that he did not send some special word to them in his letter of rebuke and instruction; the author of Acts seems to be reading later conditions back into the time of Paul's early mission. We read many times of the Jewish elders, in the Synoptic Gospels, and Acts speaks of elders in the Jerusalem Church, but the very name seems absent from the Pauline vocabulary. So that we conclude that in the Apostle's lifetime, elders in any official sense did not exist in the churches which he founded.

In I Peter, on the contrary, the elders are exhorted to shepherd the flock of God which is among them⁸ and the writer styles himself a fellow-elder. James admonishes one who is sick to call for the elders of the church and let them pray over him and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord. These references may be indications of a

⁶ Acts xiv. 23.

⁷ Acts xx. 17.

⁸ I Pet. v. 1, 2.

later date for the epistles of Peter and James, or they may be reflections of their Jewish atmosphere.

In later times, the name apostle came to designate specifically the Twelve and Paul. This limitation is not, however, generally characteristic of the New Testament writers, and even in the second century was not yet universal. Paul, it is true, forced to defend his missionary authority as equal to that of any of those sent forth by Jesus, is led to speak of his apostleship in a way that seems to set it with that of the Twelve as on a higher level than that of other teachers, but he frequently applies the title of apostle to others. In one of the very passages in which he is claiming apostleship for himself, he uses the term as including a larger group than the Twelve.⁹ The author of Acts stands alone among New Testament writers in regularly designating the Twelve as apostles, but even he gives the name to Barnabas.¹⁰ Evidently the usual practice in the first century was to use the name apostle in its etymological sense as equivalent to our Latin-English word missionary, one who is sent on a mission.

As in the case of the great prophets of the Old Testament, the early apostles gained their title not primarily by appointment from man or any organization, or even exclusively through selection by Jesus during his earthly ministry. Their apostolic gifts might, however, be recognized by a church or its leaders. Paul claimed apostolic commission dating from his experience on the road to Damascus, but years later the Antioch Church separated him and Barnabas to be sent forth as apostles; later still the reputed pillars of the Jerusalem Church recognized the apostleship of Paul. In turn, he seems to have regarded as apostles Timothy, Apollos, Silvanus, Andronicus, and Junias.¹¹ The last two of these, who were Christians be-

⁹ I Cor. xv. 7, 9.

¹⁰ Acts xiv. 14.

¹¹ I Thess. ii. 6, I Cor. iv. 9, Rom. xvi. 7.

fore Paul, together with Silvanus, may conceivably have had the qualification of having seen and heard Jesus, but this can hardly have been true of Timothy and Apollos.

The evidence as a whole leads to the conclusion that the Gentile churches before the year 70 had not developed any such systematic organization as the Jewish synagogues; that those who went abroad preaching the Gospel were known as apostles or, occasionally, as gospellers (evangelists); that next to these were honored the prophets and teachers, while the titles bishop and deacon were just beginning to be used, and elder had not gained much currency outside of the Jewish churches.

It is possible that in Rome the titles bishop and deacon had come into use at this early date as they had at Philippi; in the letter sent from the Church in Rome to the Church in Corinth at about the end of the century, it is asserted that the Apostles preached from district to district and city to city and appointed their first converts to be bishops and deacons of the future believers, and later provided that if they should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to the ministry of these after their deaths.¹² At the time this letter was written, not later than 110, probably by 95 or 96 A.D., the offices of bishop and deacon had evidently been so long established in Rome that they were thought of as reaching directly back to the earliest missions of the first Apostles. It is noticeable, however, that in I Peter, written we suppose from Rome, the title of bishop does not appear as referring to Peter or anyone else. The writer, whether Peter himself or another, considers Elder as the appropriate title for the great Apostle and for other church leaders of the day. We are led to the conclusion that in I Clement later conditions are read back into the earliest apostolic times.

New Testament literature offers very little record of the

¹² I Clement, xlii, xlv.

two decades after the year 70. Doubtless the Christian Church was continuing its expansion to new regions, but we have no means of tracing its extension. Doubtless, too, the first enthusiasm of many converts was growing lukewarm and various unchristian speculations and moral errors were becoming mingled with the purer message of the early Apostles and teachers. Such conditions are clearly revealed in the next decade among the churches of the province of Asia to which the opening messages of the book of Revelation are addressed.

The reigns of Vespasian and his son Titus (69-81 A.D.) were not marked like that of Nero by any official persecution in Rome, nor like that of Domitian (81-96) by an outlawing of Christianity, and the issue between Domitian and the Christians developed only in the later years of his reign. The only specific events in the history of Gentile Christianity which we can ascribe to the years from 70 to 90 A.D. are the writing of the two-volume biographical history, Luke-Acts, and that great essay on the relation of Christianity to the Jewish law, styled in the earliest manuscripts simply "To Hebrews."

How deeply the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem affected the distant Gentile churches it is difficult to say, but it would seem that the early readers of Mark's Gospel must have been stirred by keen expectation of the immediate consummation of the age; the fate of Jerusalem is represented there as foreseen by Jesus, to be followed shortly by his return as the Messianic Son of Man in the clouds, with great power and glory. Matthew, a little later, echoed this expectation in Palestine, while Luke, writing somewhere in the Gentile world not many years afterward, interpreted the enigmatic words given in Mark concerning "the abomination of desolation" as a prediction of the siege of Jerusalem, and he too looked forward to the coming in clouds with great power and glory. If the

Christians of Thessalonica, for example, had opportunity to read any one of these three Gospels soon after its writing, we can imagine how deeply they must have been stirred by the knowledge that the first part of the expectation had been accomplished in the destruction of Jerusalem. Presumably the fact that a great cataclysmic change did not occur within the two decades following Jerusalem's destruction played a large part in bringing about the indifferent state of mind of the Christians that developed before new troubles quickened the apocalyptic faith and expectation once more.

The travel-diary of Luke is the only New Testament composition hitherto considered which was written by a Gentile. The epistles of Paul and Peter and the Gospel of Mark were designed chiefly for Gentile readers, but their authors were Jewish Christians. The Logia, Gospel of Matthew, and Epistle of James were Jewish-Christian both in authorship and destination.

In the two volume work *Luke-Acts* we have a writing which is Gentile-Christian both in authorship and destination. Consonant with this is the individual literary consciousness of the author, in contrast to the communal character which we considered in connection with the Gospel of Matthew. It is a striking fact, however, that despite the author's familiarity with the form of Greek historical writing, his method of composition is far more Jewish than Greek. Were we to take into account only the way in which the book is compiled from earlier writings, we might be tempted to believe the compiler to have been a Jew rather than a Greek. He does change the wording of his sources more freely than the author of Matthew, but his method of composition is like that of Genesis or Matthew, essentially Jewish. The mastery of the Greek language, the use of the Greek mode of introduction and dedication, and even the conscious historico-literary ideal of learning the course

of things accurately from the best witnesses and then writing them in order, seem acquisitions more probable for a cultured Hellenistic Jew than the Jewish mode of compilation for a Greek. The Jews of Alexandria, we know, mastered the Greek language and meters so completely that they could insert lines in Greek poetry that would pass muster with the Hellenes themselves, while we have no knowledge of Greek biographers or historians compiling a book after the fashion of Matthew or Luke.

There are, however, more deep-lying characteristics of the Gospel of Luke which differentiate the author from all other New Testament writers and make the general belief that he was a Greek by race the natural conclusion. Whether he was the author of the travel-diary and so, presumably, Luke the beloved physician, is a question on which the arguments seem very evenly balanced. The most minute comparison of the language of the diary with that of the rest of Luke-Acts has thus far proved indecisive. The author's use of medical terms fits well with the view that he was a physician, but does not prove that he had had professional medical training. The uniform tradition of authorship cannot be traced back far enough to be regarded as certain historical testimony. The attachment of the name to the whole may be due to the use of a Lucan document, as we suppose that the name of Matthew was attached to the First Gospel because of the use of a Matthean document in its composition. The strange discord of the closing verses of Acts with the preceding picture from the travel-diary is perhaps the greatest single obstacle to the belief that the compiler was the diarist himself.

Yet, in spite of the absence of positive proof and the presence of recognized difficulties in maintaining the Lucan authorship of the complete work, we must feel that the opponents have failed to make out a case and that we can

maintain the possibility or even the probability that the author of the whole was Paul's traveling companion of the diary and that this was Luke, a Greek physician.

In an earlier chapter we have given some credence to the conjecture that the writer of the diary was a Macedonian from Philippi whose meeting with Paul at Troas may have been the immediate occasion of the first Macedonian mission. Jerome regarded him as an Antiochian, and Eusebius, writing earlier, indicated that he had some family connection with the great Macedonian capital of Syria. The internal evidence of the book of Acts harmonizes with the belief that he had close connections with Antioch, but that he was himself in Antioch at the times when that center figures in the Book of the Acts is not apparent.

That this Gospel was composed after Titus's siege of Jerusalem is far more certain than is the case with Mark or Matthew. The fact that their enigmatic warning, "When ye see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not," is changed in Luke to "When ye see the armies round about Jerusalem," makes it sufficiently clear that those words at least were written after the year 70. How long after that time the Gospel and its sequel the Book of the Acts were composed is, as in the case of Matthew, not clearly determinable. Detailed comparison of Matthew and Luke leads to the conclusion that neither author had seen the other's work, and this inclines one to place them not very far apart in time.

Like Matthew, Luke, in recording the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem and the subsequent appearance of the glorified Messiah, retains the assurance that the generation shall not pass away until all these things come to pass. Since Luke does not hesitate to change the "abomination of desolation" of Mark and to add details concerning the siege in the light of the experiences of the year 70, it would seem that he would have omitted or modified the words

about all these things being fulfilled before the passing of the generation to which Jesus spoke, if he were writing much later than the year 80.

On the whole it seems that not many years intervened between the composition of the great Jewish and the great Gentile Gospels. The contention that the author of Luke-Acts had read the *Antiquities* of Josephus, published about the year 94, has a good deal of cogency in reference to one passage in Acts, but this seems to many rather a slender ground for dating that book as late as the year 95 and, even if it can be maintained, does not prove that the Gospel was written as late as the last decade of the century. The balance inclines toward the composition of Matthew and Luke, and even Acts, before the outbreak of Domitian's persecution of Jews and Christians; that is, within about twenty years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Since Luke was written before Acts, we may be safe in dating it not far from the year 80, or at any rate within the eighties.

Matthew's principal sources, Mark and the Jerusalem *Logia*, formed also the basis for Luke's Gospel, although he has an even larger amount of material than Matthew taken from other sources. Like Matthew, he prefixed to Mark's narrative of the public ministry an account of the birth and childhood. This was clearly from sources quite other than those used by Matthew. The two accounts agree on such central facts as the miraculous birth in Bethlehem, the names of the mother and the reputed father who was of the Davidic line, and the boyhood home in Nazareth; but in almost all other points they are totally different. Luke has no mention of the annunciation to Joseph, the visit of the Magi, and the flight into Egypt, but gives instead the annunciation to Mary, the birth of John, the story of the angels and shepherds, the circumcision and presentation in the Temple, and the visit to Jerusalem at twelve years

of age. If Matthew's sources had contained the circumcision and presentation in the Temple, it seems as though he would certainly have included these in his account since he lays such emphasis upon the fulfillment of the law. Everything, in fact, points to the conclusion that while the birth narratives had a common basis of fact they were totally independent of each other as literary sources.

If the author of the diary was the author of Luke-Acts, he might have had ample opportunity to gather his infancy stories and other Palestinian materials, oral or written, during the two years that elapsed between his coming to Palestine with Paul and their departure for Rome. The sudden change in the Greek when the dedication is completed suggests that the sources were Semitic.

Like Matthew, Luke follows Mark and the *Logia* in introducing the public ministry with the preaching of John, the baptism, and the temptation. His Greek historical training and interest are manifest in the careful attempt to date the preaching of John by the year of the Emperor's reign and the rulers of the three provinces into which Herod's kingdom was now divided. To this he adds a statement of the approximate age of Jesus at the time of the baptism. The genealogy of Joseph is inserted at this point with the line carried back not only to Abraham, as in Matthew's genealogy, but to Adam the son of God.

In his conscious effort to write in order, immediately after the temptation, Luke abandons for the time, Mark's order and places at the opening of the Galilean ministry a summary statement of Jesus' teaching in the synagogues and the spread of his fame, followed immediately by an account of preaching and rejection in the Nazareth synagogue. At once we are led to wonder whether the "order" which Luke is seeking to follow is chronological or not. Mark, whose general order he follows, places a preaching in the Nazareth synagogue and rejection there at a much

later point. Luke's own narrative shows that a Capernaum ministry, such as that recorded at the beginning of Mark's account of the Galilean period, had preceded the rejection at Nazareth, for he represents Jesus as saying: "Doubtless ye will say unto me this parable, Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever things ye have heard done at Capernaum do also here in thine own country." Immediately after the Nazareth rejection, Luke records the going down to Capernaum and the Sabbath healings there, clearly presupposed in the preceding account. It hardly seems possible that so keen a man as the author of this Gospel could have failed to see the chronological discrepancy in his account produced by his departure from Mark's order, and we seem almost forced to the conclusion that considerations other than chronological ones enter into his conception of order.

From this point the author follows the Marcan outline much more closely than Matthew does, through accounts of preaching and healings, the call of Levi, the growing hostility of the Pharisees, the increasing fame of Jesus, and the choosing of the Twelve. Then he inserts the address from the *Logia* which formed the basis of the Sermon on the Mount of Matthew's Gospel. Luke apparently makes slight additions to the basic address, but they are brief indeed in comparison with those of Matthew, so that the entire sermon is of less than one third the length of that given in the First Gospel.

So far as his material in this discourse parallels the longer Sermon, the order is almost exactly the same, while much of Matthew's additional material is found at later points in Luke. Evidently Matthew's topical arrangement led him to take sections from other parts of the *Logia* to fill out the basic discourse, while Luke followed more nearly the order of their common source, with additions which were chiefly slight elaborations. Among these we may note

especially the four woes appended to the beatitudes¹³ which suggest the tendency of the writer to glorify poverty and low estate for their own sake and to condemn wealth and honor beyond the *Logia* teaching on the subject.

Having left the Marcan narrative to insert teaching, the writer goes on to relate discourses and events taken in part from the *Logia* and in part from independent sources, picking up the narrative source again at the point where he left it, except that he leaves out one short paragraph, to be inserted a little farther on. At this point, where Mark gives three parables with a discussion of Jesus' use of this mode of teaching, Luke gives only the parable of the sower, reserving that of the leaven for insertion at a later point; he and Matthew both omit altogether the third parable which Mark gives at this place, that of the seed developing into the full grain in the ear. We wonder whether they independently felt this to be superfluous, in view of the existence of two other parables concerning growth from seed, or found its picture of slow, orderly development foreign to the conception of the coming of the kingdom which they wished to make prominent. It is conceivable that this parable was lacking in the early copies of Mark used as the basis of Matthew and Luke. It is one that is peculiarly congenial to our ideas of orderly evolution in contrast to cataclysmic changes, but the original intent of the parable probably stressed the culminating idea of the speedy harvesting more than the slow growth and emphasized the sower's ignorance of the process of growth quite as much as the orderly nature of development.

After the parable section, Luke continues to adhere rather closely to Mark's account of mighty works about the Sea of Galilee, the sending forth of the Twelve, and the attention of Herod the tetrarch attracted by the work of Jesus. He here omits the rejection at Nazareth and the

¹³ vi. 24-6.

details of the imprisonment and death of John, which Mark introduced retrospectively in connection with the attracting of Herod's attention to the work of Jesus; Luke had referred to the imprisonment anticipatively in connection with Jesus' baptism. In Mark, Herod is represented as declaring Jesus to be John risen from the dead. Matthew follows him in this, but Luke represents him as saying, "I beheaded John; who is this one?"

Following the feeding of the five thousand, Luke omits Mark's account of the walking on the sea and the withdrawals to Phœnicia and Cæsarea Philippi, simply skipping all these narratives until he comes to the account of Peter's confession and the subsequent events and teaching leading up to the story of the unauthorized man who was casting out demons in Jesus' name.¹⁴ In this record of events and teachings he follows Mark closely, although he omits all indication that Jesus had gone to the regions of Cæsarea Philippi and returned to Galilee.

After this, Luke abandons Mark's account altogether and introduces a long section, almost one third of the entire book,¹⁵ which, except for occasional brief parallelisms with teachings given here and there in the earlier Gospel, is entirely absent from Mark. The opening of this long section, while quite independent, makes the narrative synchronize with Mark's tenth chapter which records the departure from Galilee, on the way to Jerusalem through the east-Jordan country. The section shows many close parallels with passages in Matthew, teachings which that Gospel puts either in the Galilean ministry or in the last week at Jerusalem. These parallel passages must have been taken from a common source; they are usually believed to have formed part of the Jerusalem *Logia* and were so treated in our summary of the contents of that document.

Two important considerations lead to the conclusion that

¹⁴ Mk. ix. 38-41, Lk. ix. 49-50.

¹⁵ ix. 51-xviii. 14.

Luke leaves them more nearly in the order in which they originally stood than Matthew does: Luke changes the order of the material which he takes from Mark less than Matthew, and the *Logia* quotations, if taken by themselves in the Lucan order, give a much less fragmentary impression than if arranged in Matthew's order. If we recall in addition that Matthew clearly groups his materials topically, we are led to the almost certain conclusion that Luke gives in this long Peræan section much material from the *Logia* in essentially its original order.

When we deduct, however, all of this section that is paralleled in Mark and Matthew, we have left a large amount of teaching and some narrative that is peculiar to Luke. Much of this has a certain homogeneity of character and interest that suggests a special written source. There are, for example, in this section, sixteen parables that are peculiar to Luke and quite different in their character from most of those found in Mark and Matthew. While those usually present certain aspects of Jesus' doctrine of the kingdom, these exemplify especially traits of the Divine character and individual virtues.

Typical examples are the Prodigal Son, the Lost Coin, the Good Samaritan, the Pharisee and Publican at Prayer. Other important paragraphs in this section peculiar to Luke record the sending of messengers to a village of the Samaritans to prepare for Jesus, the Samaritans' rejection of him, the desire of James and John to call down fire, the sending forth and return of the Seventy, a visit to the home of Martha and Mary, teaching concerning the Galileans slain by Pilate, the woman healed on a Sabbath, the meal at the home of a chief Pharisee, and the healing of the ten lepers.

After this long section of ix. 51 to xviii. 14, with its almost total absence of Marcan material, Luke takes up Mark's account in the midst of the section that deals with the

journey to Jerusalem, introducing, in Mark's order, the incidents of blessing little children and the coming of the rich young man, the prediction of the crucifixion and the healing of Bartimæus. He omits the ambitious request of James and John which precedes the last named, although he gives some of the teachings connected with it, at other points. He then returns to his independent source, from which he takes the story of Zacchæus and probably the parable of the pounds (*minæ*).

With the account of the triumphal entry, he again resumes Mark's narrative. He omits the cursing of the fig tree on the day after the entry and passes directly to the cleansing of the Temple and, in the main, follows Mark's account through the days of the last week, the death and burial, and the morning visit of the women to the empty tomb. He omits Mark's account of the anointing of Jesus in Bethany, having included a very similar narrative in his earlier account of the Galilean ministry.¹⁶ He abbreviates the account of the trial before the Jewish authorities and gives a more extended report of that before Pilate.

With the abrupt ending of the original part of our Gospel of Mark, Luke's narratives and Matthew's fly far apart. Matthew, we have seen, records a Galilean appearance of Jesus which was promised in Mark. Luke, on the other hand, records appearances only in or near Jerusalem. Here, as in his accounts of the birth and childhood, we have narratives which the writer, if he was the diarist, had opportunity to gather when he came to Jerusalem with Paul. If this is their source, they carry us back to a time that cannot be much more than twenty-five years after the events, when living witnesses were still many.

Why Luke omitted all reference to the Galilean appearances of the risen Lord it is difficult to say. Presumably his copy of Mark contained this record; he was writing

¹⁶ vii. 36-38.

that the reader might know the certainty concerning the things wherein he had been instructed; yet he ignored entirely Mark's reference to the risen Jesus' going before his disciples into Galilee and gave an account of the appearance to the two who walked to Emmaus, followed by an appearance to the eleven in Jerusalem. It may be that the account of this appearance in Jerusalem, with its emphasis upon the physical reality of the presence, seemed to Luke to give greater certainty than the Marcan account, and that he included the Emmaus appearance as a part of the same narrative.

One curious point is to be noted: The two returning to Jerusalem find the Eleven and others with them telling how the Lord had appeared to Simon, although Luke has given no account of this appearance.¹⁷ This is in agreement with Paul's information that Jesus appeared to Cephas and then to the Twelve, except that Luke represents the number as it now was, eleven.

In following through Luke's outline in comparison with Mark and Matthew, we find, as indicated above, that he obtained his general order and arrangement of material from Mark, and on the whole adhered more closely to the Marcan order than Matthew did, although he did not hesitate to make some changes, and that he inserted much teaching material that is closely paralleled in Matthew as well as some events and many teachings peculiar to himself.

It is from the large body of teaching common to Luke and Matthew, and not in their source, Mark, that we are led to the conclusion that they must have had a second common source made up chiefly of teachings or *logia*. A minute study of this common matter in its relation to the remainder of Matthew and Luke and to Mark makes possible such conclusions as to the existence and contents of a *Logia* document antedating our Gospels as have been pre-

¹⁷ xxiv. 34.

sented in the foregoing discussions of the growth of the Gospel literature. Dr. E. D. Burton¹⁸ has challenged the generally accepted view that there was one such major discourse document used by Matthew and Luke. He argues that they had two documents in addition to Mark. One of these contained the non-Markan sayings which they had in common and in much the same order in the Galilean period; the other was embodied *in toto* in Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14; xix. 1-28. From the latter, Matthew made selections to supplement the discourses given in the Galilean ministry. Dr. Burton's students have elaborated and modified his theory in an interesting series of monographs, but neither in the original nor modified forms has his hypothesis as yet met with widespread acceptance.

Most scholars adhere to the general view adopted in the preceding discussions, that the material common to Matthew and Luke and not found in Mark indicates one document, in addition to Mark, used by the authors of Matthew and Luke as a second major source. This supposed document is commonly indicated in technical discussions by the letter Q, initial of *quelle*, source. This designation has a certain advantage over the name *Logia* in not seeming to commit one to the inference that the document was the one referred to by Papias as the *Logia* written by Matthew. In the present volume the term *Logia* has been preferred because it is an appropriate description of the character of the document as a collection of sayings and also because of the very great probability that this collection of *logia* was written by Matthew.

In Luke we find no tendency like that of Matthew to interpret Jesus as the Messiah fulfilling law and prophets, but far more of the truly historical or biographical purpose to present him simply as he was in deed and word. It seems singular that Matthew's ecclesiastical and theo-

¹⁸ *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem.*

logical interpretation, written by a Jewish Christian for men of his own race, has made a more wide-spread appeal to Gentile readers than this Gentile Gospel. Matthew's method of grouping his material has probably had somewhat to do with the stronger impression made on the average intelligence, but that can scarcely be the entire explanation. Luke requires a higher level of literary taste and individual spiritual development for its full appreciation than Matthew. While Luke is not in the least esoteric, it will perhaps always remain, in comparison with Matthew, the Gospel that appeals to more cultured readers.

The aspects of the book which give it its rare beauty and account for its appeal to the reader of æsthetic appreciation and broad human interest call for careful study and analysis. In the first place we may take a hint from Matthew's method and group topically some of the distinctive elements of the book. It has already been remarked that Luke has sixteen parables in his long Peræan section which, but for this Gospel, might have been lost to future generations. Two of these stand out in the thought and interest of the present day above any found in Matthew, except, it may be, the parable of the Sower that occurs in all three Synoptic Gospels. These two are, of course, the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan, with their lessons of a compassionate God and a compassionate humanity. It is perhaps better to use these terms than to characterize their teaching as "the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man," terms so often glibly uttered that their stupendous content and implications are forgotten. With the Prodigal Son we may place the Lost Coin, the Great Supper, and the Friend at Midnight as exemplifying Jesus' teaching of the heavenly joy and welcome for the lost and neglected ones, and of the Father's readiness to give the best to his children.

We may group with the Good Samaritan as exemplifying

Jesus' ideals for the individual man, the Barren Fig Tree and Unprofitable Servants,¹⁹ the Chief Seats and the Pharisee and Publican,²⁰ the Rash Builder, Rash King, Rich Fool, Watchful Servants, Unrighteous Steward, and Unrighteous Judge,²¹ with their lessons of fruitful living and humility, their emphasis upon the cost of service and the need of wise preparation and alertness in heavenly as in earthly concerns, together with persistence in prayer.

Besides these sixteen, the Gospel gives a seventeenth peculiar to itself, the Two Debtors. It includes other parables; three, the Sower, Mustard Seed, and Wicked Husbandmen, common to all three Synoptic Gospels; two, the Leaven and Lost Sheep, found in Matthew. Whether the parable of the Pounds²² should be counted as peculiar to Luke or only a variant of the Talents as found in Matthew, we cannot say with positiveness; the major lesson of responsibility for the full use of one's powers is the same in both.

Luke's method of presenting the parables in connection with the biographical narrative and so showing how they grew out of Jesus' intercourse with all sorts of people may fail to make as clear an impression of the parabolic method of teaching as we get from Matthew's groups of parables, but it has the advantage of giving a clearer impression of the Great Teacher in his association with various kinds of people.

Some of the parables prove to be "table-talk" and their occasions show Jesus, as Luke is fond of picturing him, the guest at social meals. Now it is at the table of a Pharisee who has invited him to dine, but has failed to show him the courtesies customarily offered to a guest. Jesus has apparently given no indication of resenting the rudeness to

¹⁹ xiii. 6-9, xvii. 7-10.

²⁰ xiv. 7-10, xviii. 9-14.

²¹ xiv. 28-33, xii. 16-24, 35-40, xvi. 1-13, xviii. 1-8.

²² xix. 11-28.

himself until he perceives that the discourteous host is in an attitude of supercilious self-righteousness. Then he gives the parable of the two debtors, showing at once that he knows the woman who washes his feet to have been a sinner far more flagrant than the host; yet the application of the parable to the sinful woman and the Pharisee, contrasting her loving service with his selfish rudeness, is crushing in its calm statement of fact.

Again, he is at a wedding feast and observes the eagerness of the guests to take the most honorable places at table; this calls forth the parable concerning the chief seats, followed by that of the great supper occasioned by the comment of one of the guests upon his words to the host.

In all, Luke records Jesus' presence at five or six social meals not mentioned in the other Gospels, although they also represent him as sharing freely in social intercourse. We do not feel that these narratives are introduced for the sake of emphasizing Jesus' freedom of association, but rather, after Luke's literary biographical method, as the effective setting for some teaching of Jesus.

Thus we see him at the house of Mary and Martha very gently suggesting to Martha that she is too anxious and troubled, and refusing to deprive Mary of her better part. Again we see him invited to take breakfast at the home of an unnamed Pharisee who is surprised at Jesus' failure to practice the ceremonial washing enjoined by the tradition of the elders. The Pharisee's astonishment leads to the teaching about cleansing the outside of cup and platter while their inward part is full of extortion and wickedness.

Matthew presents some of the same teaching, but as part of a long discourse on similar themes. We wonder whether Luke may not have read Plato's *Dialogues* and thus have been influenced in his selection of incidents that give pictures of Jesus in the revealing intercourse of table fellow-

ship. But, even in Luke, pictures of this sort are few, and the discourse brief and pointed in pleasing contrast to Plato's highly elaborated *Dialogues*.

These pictures of Jesus' social intercourse have been noted in connection with the friend at midnight, the woman with the leaven, the master of the house rising and shutting the door, the woman sweeping for the lost coin, the father welcoming the lost son, as having the "touch of familiar domesticity."

Along with these traits, we may note the prominence of women in Luke's narratives: Elizabeth, Mary, Anna, the widow of Nain, the sinful woman in the house of Simon, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, Martha and Mary, the widow with the two mites, and the women at the tomb. While some of these appear in the other Gospels, we find in them no such prominent recognition of women. The pictures show a freedom of unquestioned association between men and women more characteristic of Judaism than of the Greek and Roman world, but they give at the same time a recognition to women above that characteristic of Judaism. It is in the Gospel of Luke more than anywhere else that we see Christ's attitude toward women which introduced into the world a new conception of the possibility of freedom of social intercourse without moral corruption. We have already seen in Paul's correspondence with his churches how sharply the Christian fellowship was separated from the Greek world by this attitude.

Another aspect of the Gospel that is more prominent in Luke than elsewhere is the subject of prayer, both in example and instruction on the subject. All the Evangelists record instances of Jesus' praying, but Luke gives seven distinct occasions not mentioned by the others, almost all at critical points in his life: at the baptism, the time when the multitudes had been more and more attracted and just before his first collision with the hierarchy, before the

choosing of the Twelve, before the first prediction of the Passion, at the Transfiguration, before teaching the disciples to pray, and on the Cross. He alone records that Jesus had made supplication for Peter and the words to the disciples in the garden: Pray that ye enter not into temptation.²³ To these examples, we may add the fact already noted that the parables teaching persistence in prayer and the difference between acceptable and unacceptable prayer are among those peculiar to Luke. It is this Gospel, too, which adds to the injunction to watch, given by Mark and Matthew, the words: at every season making supplication that ye may prevail.

Along with prayer, praise and thanksgiving are more prominent in Luke than in the others. The expressions "praising God," "blessing God," are almost peculiar to this writer in the New Testament; and far more frequently than in the other Gospels are we told of those who "glorified God" when they received benefits.

It is to Luke alone that we owe the preservation of those primitive Christian songs that have become the great hymns of the Church, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Magnificat, the Benedictus, and the Nunc Dimittis.

In noting such characteristics of this Gospel, we realize that to it we are largely indebted for our Christian conception of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for our portrait of the universal humanity of Jesus and of his ideals for our humane life and character. It is not simply, then, because Luke can write in the literary form and language of educated Greeks and is accustomed to translate Jewish terms into their Hellenic equivalents that we recognize him as a Gentile writing for Gentiles. It is because of the entire atmosphere of his book and especially the subtle differences in his portrait of the Christ which show us that, despite his relation to Jewish law

²³ xxii. 32, 40.

and prophets, Jesus of Nazareth was far more than the Messiah anticipated by the Jews, more even than the ideal servant of God pictured in the latter chapters of the book of Isaiah. In Luke we see at once Jesus' unique conception of God and the very life of such a God manifest in daily human intercourse. Paul with all his marvelous breadth and charity consciously remained the Jewish Christian writing to Gentiles. Luke was the cultured Greek who found in the life and teaching of Jesus universal God and universal man.

Consideration of the General plan and literary qualities of the writing may perhaps best be deferred for discussion in connection with the second volume of Luke's comprehensive work.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE SECOND VOLUME OF LUKE'S BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY

The close connection between the Gospel of Luke and the Book of the Acts is indicated at the outset by the preface dedicating Acts to Theophilus and referring to the previous treatise. The connection is still further shown by the way the opening narrative of Acts resumes and continues the conclusion of the Gospel. That closes with the ascension, preceded by Jesus' promise of power to the disciples and the anticipation that repentance and remission of sins shall be preached in his name unto all nations, beginning from Jerusalem, the disciples being witnesses. In the new volume the ascension is recounted more fully and the promise of power and program of witnessing from Jerusalem to the uttermost part of the earth form the very text for the book.¹

The preface of the second volume makes no reference to possible written sources as that of the Gospel had done, but one such source is indicated in no uncertain way by the sudden change of the narrative to the first person in xvi. 10, xx. 5, and xxvii. 1. For the sections beginning at these three points, it is perfectly clear that the writer has as his source the travel-diary of a companion of Paul.² The method of compiling the former treatise gives *a priori* probability to the view that extensive use is made of other documents besides the diary, and "the gaps, discrepancies,

¹i. 8.

²See Chapter XIV, etc.

roughnesses, and repetitions" which appear, make it probable "that the earlier sections of the book at least, contain strata of different periods and aims."³ Many attempts have been made to trace more or less fully the presence of an underlying document or documents aside from the diary, but none of these have as yet gained general acceptance.

If we adopt the view that the author of the entire work was the travel companion of the "we" sections, we conclude that he had large opportunities for supplementing any documents available, by oral converse with those who were participants in many of the events that were beyond the range of his own share in the history. While such opportunities were much greater in connection with the latter half of the book than with the earlier portions, it has been pointed out that the writer had been in Palestine; had become acquainted with the Christian communities of Jerusalem, Cæsarea, and other places on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; that in company with Paul he had worked with Silas of Jerusalem, and in Rome with Mark, another Jerusalemite; that he had come into personal contact with James the Lord's brother, early recognized as the head of the Jerusalem Church; and that he had stayed some days in the house of Philip the Evangelist.⁴

We should like to know whether he had already begun his purposeful tracing of all things accurately from the first at the time when he visited the brethren in Tyre, Ptolemais, Cæsarea, and Jerusalem with Paul and perhaps remained in that part of the world until they both sailed to Rome two years later. Of this we have no assurance, but the type of his mind suggests that he would have made careful mental and perhaps written notes of the informa-

³Moffatt, *Introduction to Literature of New Testament*, p. 286.

⁴Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. trans.), p. 164.

tion he gathered, even though he may not yet have formed the purpose of writing his treatise concerning all that Jesus began to do and to teach until the day in which he was received up, and of that which he continued to do and to teach through his Spirit-guided Apostles.

In our study of the history of the early Church, we have in the main followed the order of Acts upon which we are almost wholly dependent for any orderly outline of the rise and early spread of the Christian Church. We have noted, too, our ignorance of the first establishment of Christianity in the regions which did not fall within the scope of this remarkable little history.

If "art is just selection," the author of Acts shows himself a master of literary art no less in his selection of material in the book of Acts than in the choice and presentation of material in his earlier volume. Like that masterpiece, this also may be characterized as biographical; it has even been thought of as a biography of Peter and Paul. It thus has the vital personal interest and moral appeal of all noble biography, in contrast to the history of a great social movement or organization which subordinates personalities so far that it loses much of human interest for the ordinary reader.

Yet it is neither a biography of the chief Apostles, nor strictly speaking, a book of the acts of the Apostles as a whole. It is biographical history in which individuals appear in vivid personality and yet in subordination to the purpose of setting forth certain aspects of the rise and progress of a great social movement.

Peter drops out of the history after the Jerusalem Council; henceforth the author is concerned with the advance of the Christian movement on Gentile soil, and Peter was the Apostle of the circumcision. The great hero of the book, Paul himself, receives equally unceremonious dismissal at the close, when he has come to Rome and

preached there with all boldness, none forbidding. The reader longs to know of the ultimate fate of both Peter and Paul, but is forced to look elsewhere for any information on the subject. Peter and Paul alike concern the book of Acts only in so far as they have a part to play in its dramatic narrative.

In the case of the less prominent characters also, each is presented with consummate skill, appealing to the reader's interest in striking, individual personality, as in the cases of the attractive pictures of Stephen and Barnabas, but each appears only in so far as his life forms a part of a series of events larger and more significant than the individual.

It is easy to follow the general plan of the book as a history of the spread of the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome. It may be tabulated in a few main divisions, with headings like those of the chapters of a modern book:

- I Early Days of the Church in Jerusalem—i-vii.
- II Spread through Palestine to Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch—viii-xii.
- III Advance through Cyprus to Central Asia Minor—xiii-xiv.
- IV Official Recognition at Jerusalem of Gentile Christianity—xv.
- V Advance to Macedonia and Achaia—xvi-xviii. 22.
- VI The Great Ephesus Mission—xviii. 23-xxi. 16.
- VII Check through Arrest in Jerusalem and Imprisonment in Cæsarea—xxi. 17-xxvi. 30.
- VIII Advance to Rome—xxvii-xxviii.

Some such outline may indicate the plan of the volume as an account of the rise and spread of the Church from the sacred city to the world's capital, but it would give a very inadequate impression of the rich and manifold purpose of a work which is quite as far from a barren ecclesiastical history as it is from being merely a biography.

The writer himself conceives the history first as the further development of the work and teaching which Jesus had begun,⁵ and as the fulfillment of his last promise. The movement being regarded thus, the Apostles are not to go forward with the mission until they are clothed with power from on high, baptized with the Holy Spirit. Then they shall be witnesses from Judæa unto the uttermost part of the earth.⁶

To a notable degree, the author succeeds in combining the Judæo-Christian faith in the immediate guidance of the Spirit of God and its power to win the minds and hearts of men, with the Greek sense of fact, and of the value of first-hand testimony as the basis of intelligent conviction where personal observation is impossible. The qualifications for apostolic service include both the power of the Spirit endowment and personal experience of companionship with Jesus from the baptism to the ascension. "Whereof we are witnesses"; "the things which we saw and heard"; "and we are witnesses of these things and so is the Holy Spirit whom God hath given to those who obey him"—such are the phrases which we meet repeatedly.

As the result of testimony given in the power of the Spirit, the growth of the early Church in Jerusalem is represented as advancing with great rapidity. The early numbers, three thousand, five thousand, seem incredible to some, yet it is noticeable that the advance is not pictured idealistically as a triumphal progress; troubles external and internal are fully recognized. In contrast, one might compare the majestic ease with which Philostratus represents Apollonius of Tyana as converting communities. In that famous biography we frequently feel the absence of that first-hand testimony so strongly emphasized by Luke. In few respects is the difference between Luke

⁵i. 1.

⁶Lk. xxiv. 47-9, Acts i. 4, 5, 8.

and Philostratus more marked than in the former's recognition of the various forms of hostile reaction and friendly misinterpretation met by Jesus and his followers. Neither in picturing the gracious ministry of Jesus, nor the power with which his Apostles bore witness, does Luke lose sight of the capacity of the human spirit to resist light and truth.

Some have thought that Acts might best be described as a history of the work of the Holy Spirit in carrying on the mission of Jesus, and certainly this way of looking at the history is highly characteristic of the author, yet it is only one of the facets that the events turn toward us under Luke's skilled handling.

Another phase of these critical years is the relation of the Roman government to the new faith. It is sometimes felt that the historian is distinctly aiming at making it clear that there is no necessary conflict between the two. In common with Mark and Matthew he represented Jesus as directing the rendering to Cæsar of the things that are Cæsar's, and in his history of the spread of the Church he does not lose any occasion to note the instances in which Roman magistrates guard the Christian emissaries from Jewish hostility. In accordance with this view, it has even been suggested that the sudden ending of the book, with no mention of Paul's hearings before Nero and ultimate execution, was due to the desire to avoid that which would be contrary to the generally favorable impression of Roman government.

Yet it must not be overlooked that Luke is perfectly ready on occasion to show the seamy side of Roman provincial rule, as when he represents Felix as holding Paul a prisoner for two years in the hope that money will be given him. There seems no prominent purpose to defend or attack Rome and no consciousness of an inevitable conflict between the Empire and the Church. This tends to place the time of writing before the outbreak of the perse-

cution of Domitian and accords with the view that the decade of the eighties saw both the first and second volumes of Luke's biographical history completed.

A few years ago a new English novel roused widespread interest and public discussion in the press as to the purpose with which it was written; one thought the writer's aim was this timely social lesson; another, that psychological truth. At last the author himself spoke and said that he had not known that he had any of the purposes attributed to him; he had simply been trying to write an interesting story. In trying to do that, we can see that he had touched various currents of the life of his day. Could Luke speak to those who have found this or that specific purpose controlling his narrative, it may be he would say that, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, it had seemed good to him to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which had been fulfilled among them, even as they delivered them who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word. Thus, trying to tell the story true to life, the historian and religious teacher, even as the novelist, touches many currents of life and cannot be confined to any one lesson or aspect thereof. If he should so limit himself, he would not be a worthy narrator of history or fiction, for life is many sided.

Whatever may have been our writer's conscious aims, he is true to reality in revealing many deep and significant phases of the history which he has selected for treatment. Not only does he show the relation between Rome and the early missionary Church the relations between Judaism and Christianity also repeatedly appear. In treating these latter relations, if anywhere, the historian seems influenced by a fixed and mechanical conception of the course of events. In the recounting of Paul's work, the bringing of the message first to the Jews in the successive new

fields and turning to the Gentiles only when the Jews have rejected it, does seem almost a fixed formula. The writer may have had a distinct purpose to heal the breach between Judaistic and Gentile Christianity, but we cannot regard even this as an all controlling purpose. It probably did lead him to represent Paul as following a mechanically un-Pauline routine and the Jerusalem Apostles as exercising a more formal control over the spread of the Gospel than the facts of life and growth warrant.

The transition from Jewish sect to world-religion may be counted a major theme of the history as this writer selects and interprets the events which he will recount. In the first seven chapters, the new faith is winning Jewish converts, despite the restraints imposed by the Jerusalem authorities. Then the conflict breaks out in that very democratic institution, the synagogue; this necessitates a scattering abroad, although at first the message is carried only to Jews or the kindred Samaritans who have some share of the Jewish faith and hope. Then, with hesitant steps, reserved approval is from time to time given by the leaders of the Jerusalem Church to the reception of Gentile converts as sharers in the promised blessings of the Messianic age. With the great council, which the writer represents as giving a carefully guarded sanction to the work of Paul and Barnabas, and the supposed delivery of its decision to the Gentile churches, the direct Jerusalem control of the progress drops out of the narrative for a time. It appears again, to some extent, on the occasion of Paul's last visit to Jerusalem, when he accedes to the request of James and the elders to disprove the charge that he is teaching the Jews to forsake the Mosaic ritual. Then the Jerusalem Church disappears from the history with no word as to its later fate, as completely as Peter and the other early leaders had dropped out.

If Luke and Acts were written, as we have found our-

selves constrained to believe, after the events of the year 70, the writer must have known of the flight of the Jerusalem Christians to Pella and probably had some knowledge of the loss of prestige that followed, but of all this he gives no hint. Some have inferred that he wrote even before the fate of Paul was determined and so, perforce, ended his narrative at the point which it had reached; others have argued that he intended to add a third volume which should tell the subsequent course of events. It is more probable that, having told of the Spirit-guided, apostolic witness bearing from Jerusalem to Rome, he had completed his plan of enabling Theophilus, and perhaps other Gentile Christians who might read his narrative, to know the certainty concerning the things which they had been taught by word of mouth. The writer shared the expectation of Paul and the other early Christian teachers that the great consummation of the age was soon to come and had no thought, like Horace, of erecting by his writing "a monument more enduring than brass."

His purpose was to meet a religious need of the time, not to write an enduring history of the rise and spread of the Christian Church; yet, thanks to his earnest desire to know and tell the truth and his trained skill as a student and writer, he produced a book of religious instruction and inspiration which is also a most notable monument of biographical-historical writing. In it the Hebrew genius for picturesque narrative and character sketching is matched by the Greek genius for the clear and ordered presentation of well selected historical events. Viewed as a literary monument, the little two-volume work Luke-Acts commands our admiration by its well conceived general plan, from the annunciation of the forerunner to the preaching of the kingdom of God and the teaching of the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ in Rome.

CHAPTER XXIV

HEBREWS

The writing which has come down to us in the oldest manuscripts under the title "To Hebrews" (possibly "Against Hebrews") is without epistolary opening with the writer's name and greeting; yet the conclusion has something of the personal messages characteristic of a letter designed for a particular church or group of Christians; in addition, here and there in the course of the discussion, passages occur which indicate the author has in mind a definite group of readers whose estate is known to him.¹ Despite these elements, the writing as a whole bears more of the marks of a sermon than of a genuine letter and should perhaps be classed with James as an example of first-century preaching rather than with the more personal letters written by Paul.

The writer was apparently one of the eloquent men who cannot abandon their rhetorical style even when writing to those whom they personally know. While their situation and needs occasionally shape his speech, the inner necessity of presenting his line of thought worked out to an ordered completion may have determined the form of his writing quite as much as the immediate conditions of its destined readers. In following this impulse, he presented a theological argument which has had a profound influence upon multitudes of Christian thinkers through the centuries. Like the Gospel of Matthew, this treatise in-

¹ *E.g.* v. 11-12; vi. 10; x. 32-34; xii. 4.

interprets Jesus in terms of Old Testament faith. That, however, interprets from the point of view of Palestinian Judaism; this shows how a Hellenistic Jew cultured in Greek philosophy and trained in Greek rhetorical expression, adjusted his scheme of thinking to the fact of Jesus. Like that of Matthew this Jewish interpretation has appealed more strongly to many minds than the beautiful, humanistic presentation of Luke or the more truly spiritual interpretations of Paul and the Gospel and First Epistle of John. Unlike Matthew, *Hebrews* does not represent Jesus as the fulfiller of the Hebrew moral law or of predictive prophecy; it is instead as the one who has once for all accomplished the ritual of the Day of Atonement that Jesus is represented as fulfilling the law.

For an intelligent reading of the treatise it is necessary to keep clearly in mind the law of the atonement as given in the sixteenth chapter of *Leviticus*. The essential elements of the ritual are these: the high priest shall first offer a bullock as a sin offering for himself and his house; after he has burned incense so that the cloud of it covers the mercy seat of the inmost sanctuary, he may enter and sprinkle the sacrificial blood upon the mercy seat seven times; having thus made personal atonement, the priest shall offer the sacrifice of a goat and sprinkle the blood to make atonement because of the sins of the people. He has thus purified the altar and the sanctuary from the uncleannesses of the people. Next he is to put his hands on the head of a second goat, confess over it the sins of the people, and send it away bearing their iniquities to the solitary wilderness. By everlasting statute, once each year, was atonement thus to be made.

These perpetually repeated acts were to the writer of *Hebrews* the copies of the things in the heavens.² To the present day, every Jew who acknowledges any allegiance to

² ix. 23.

his national religion is expected to participate in the services of the Day of Atonement with its public gathering and the home feast of the Passover. Through all the centuries these two feasts have continued the most universal religious ceremonies of the Jewish people. The problem for the Jewish Christian of the first century who wrote Hebrews was to adjust his new faith in the atoning death of Christ to his belief that the ritual of the Day of Atonement was the Divinely ordained copy of the heavenly order.

In Hebrews, consequently, it is the death rather than the resurrection that receives emphasis. With Paul and the author of I Peter, the starting point is the resurrection; they did give emphasis to the death and briefly interpreted it in terms of sacrifice, but the new life was much more prominent in their thinking. By the resurrection Peter was begotten again unto a living hope, and Paul, dying with Christ, was also raised with him unto a new life of triumph over the law of the members. Paul could argue the case of a new creature versus Jewish ritual, but no such antithesis was open to the author of Hebrews; he must interpret Christ in terms of that ritual.

It is difficult for those who are trained in the scientific and philosophic modes of thought of the twentieth century fully to sympathize with or even to comprehend the interpretation of Hebrews, yet the mode of thought is one that has been and still is widely prevalent in religious thinking; it seems to be natural and inexpressibly precious to many devoted men and women through the ages. The writer represents the priestly type of mind which in the Old Testament is so sharply opposed by such supreme prophets as Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. Through Hebrews more than any other book, the New Testament makes place for the priestly type of mind in the Christian fellowship.

The relation of Jesus as the Messianic Savior to the

Jewish sacrificial system, regarded as revealed to Moses through angels, is the great problem discussed in Hebrews. The conviction presented at the beginning is that God, who of old spoke through the prophets, has now spoken through the Son, who, having made purification for sins, is seated on the right hand of the majesty on high. The major premiss is, then, the conviction that the historical Jesus is the Son who has ascended to the place of heavenly honor. This belief has come to the writer through the testimony of those who had heard Jesus, supported by God's witness of signs and wonders and the bestowal of the Holy Spirit. The writer does not, like Paul, claim a direct revelation and apostolic authority from Jesus; he places himself among those of the second generation of believers, dependent upon the testimony of the primitive disciples.³

The Son is regarded as the heir of all things, the agent in the creation of the æons, the effulgence of the glory of God, the very impress of his substance (hypostasis), the upholder of all things by the word of his power.⁴ We find ourselves in the atmosphere of the language and thought of Philo. Although the writer does not, like the author of the Fourth Gospel, use the Philonic term Logos (Word), he conceives the Son as having the attributes and functions of Philo's Logos. His witnesses may have been primitive apostles, but his interpretation of Divine Sonship is clearly characteristic of Alexandrian, Græco-Jewish philosophy.

Starting with the premiss that Jesus was the exalted Son, he argues that he was superior to the angels through whom the law was given to Moses, and to Moses who gave the law to the people. Then he maintains that he is superior to the Aaronic priesthood who ministered the law; he is both Son of God and the great High Priest. In Psalm CX, a psalm which Jesus himself is reported to have quoted in his question how the Messiah whom David

³ ii. 2-4.

⁴ i. 2-3.

called Lord could be his son,⁵ the writer of Hebrews finds basis for his interpretation of Jesus as priest forever⁶ though he was not of the tribe of Levi.⁷ As a strict legalist he admits that if Jesus were still on earth he would not be a priest at all, since the legal, priestly line is in existence.⁸ In the old story of Abraham's giving tithes of his spoils to Melchizedek king of Salem, priest of God Most High, and accepting the blessing of this non-Levitical priest,⁹ he found warrant for a priesthood greater than that of the Levites and for the disannulling of the law that limited the priesthood to the line of Aaron.

The real crux for this writer is the question how Jesus can abrogate the sacred ritual of the annual atonement. He cannot travel the road of Paul or of Matthew in explaining Jesus' relation to the law. Paul did not hesitate to go back of Moses and declare that there was something more fundamental in the Hebrew religion than the Mosaic law, namely Abraham's heart-attitude toward God. The law which came in centuries later could not disannul the promise given, not on the basis of observing any ceremonial rite, but on that of a faith that led to obedient action. When Paul made that argument, he showed that he had been trained in the subtleties of rabbinical dialectic, but he also showed that he was a prophet who could go through the shell of everything external to the heart of life. Similarly Matthew represents Jesus as going back of the law to something more fundamental. In the case of divorce, it is to the fundamental facts of physical life. In the case of murder or adultery, it is to the ultimate motive. Matthew emphasized the fact that what Jesus required included all that the law commanded and more, the purification of the very springs of life.

In interpreting Jesus' relation to the law, the writer of

⁵ Mk. xii. 35-37 and parallels in Mt. and Lk.

⁶ v. 6.

⁷ vii. 14.

⁸ viii. 4-5.

⁹ Gen. xiv. 18-20.

Hebrews cannot thus cut to the roots of life in its ultimate heart attitude of faith and love. He does go back of Moses, but it is to a pre-Mosaic ritual act. He believes that the old covenant with its Aaronic priesthood has been superseded by a new covenant; but it is a covenant of a new priesthood, not that of the heart, foreseen by Jeremiah when they should all know the Lord, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, and should have the law written in the heart;¹⁰ nor is it the new covenant of Paul—not of the letter but of the spirit.¹¹ Holding fast within this priestly, legalistic universe of thought, the writer comes at last to a definite conclusion that Jesus is the true mediator of the new covenant, the legitimate, eternal High Priest and one all-sufficient sacrifice.

Unquestionably *Hebrews* is the most complete and carefully elaborated argument in the New Testament. The writer inweaves with his main line of thought other conceptions and truths and turns aside now and again for application or exhortation, but he always turns back and takes up the thread where he dropped it. The fiery soul of Paul could never be held in such logical bonds.

Interwoven with the carefully wrought out intellectual adjustment of the new belief to the old, that forms the basis of the first ten chapters of the book, is another interpretation of the sufferings of Christ, quite independent of the ritualistic conceptions dominating the line of thought which we have been tracing. Like I Peter, this writing is directed to those who are in suffering. In that epistle, there was no philosophy of Christ's sufferings, only an intense expression of that love which gladly shares the experience of pain. In *Hebrews* the sufferings of Christ are recognized as the means through which his perfected character was realized. Though he was a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered and was made per-

¹⁰ Jer. xxxi. 31-34.

¹¹ II Cor. iii. 6.

fect.¹² At an earlier point in the book, it is declared that "it became him for whom are all things and through whom are all things to make perfect the author of their salvation through sufferings."¹³ In Peter the disciple is bidden to rejoice, insomuch as he is a partaker of Christ's sufferings;¹⁴ in Hebrews, Christ becomes a brother of men through sharing the common lot of woe, and, being made like unto his brethren, he becomes a merciful and faithful high priest to make propitiation for the sins of the people.¹⁵ But the suffering does not simply make him a propitiatory sacrifice; through the trial of suffering, he has become able to succor those who are tried;¹⁶ nay more, he is able to sympathize with their weaknesses, having been tried in all things in the same manner, though without sin.¹⁷

The writer who has applied to the Son, viewed in his essential relations to God and the created universe, the loftiest terms afforded by the vocabulary of Philosophy, thinks of him in his earthly life as exemplifying the laws of growth in character and power to serve, to which human beings are subject. In the nineteenth century, Browning, struggling ever with the question "why ill should hap to man," found partial answer in the realization that without pain we should know neither gratitude to God nor sympathy for man. It is a matter open to the observation of all that those who have not yet been called upon to meet real suffering are immature, undeveloped in character, if not self-complacent, hard, and cruel. In the first Christian century, the writer of Hebrews dared to apply this law of life to the Christ.

To the first disciples a suffering Messiah had been a contradiction in terms. Convinced by the resurrection, they early turned to the Old Testament and found foreglimpses of the great truth of salvation through vicarious suffering.

¹² v. 8-9.¹³ ii. 11, 17.¹⁴ ii. 10.¹⁵ ii. 18.¹⁶ I Pet. iv. 13.¹⁷ iv. 15.

In the next generation, the exact theologian who wrote *Hebrews* proved himself also to have the insight of the poet-prophet when he interpreted the sufferings of the Divine Son as making the author of salvation perfect and so of one with those whom he was to save, not ashamed to call them brothers.

In the first ten chapters of *Hebrews*, in which the argument is worked out for the sufficient atonement of Christ, we feel ourselves in contact with a strong intellect, following the ordered logic of a careful thinker who is at times capable of real insight into the soul of life. In Paul, we meet an equally keen intellect, but it is not held in such rigid bonds and is only one aspect of a multi-sided personality. Though the Apostle was one of the cleverest debaters that ever argued an issue, we do not think of him either first or last as a man of keen intellect; he was so much more than that! The greatness of his personality and the intensity of his moral nature gave him a very different conception of the Hebrew law. We shall greatly err, if we suppose that by the law of Moses Paul meant only what is dealt with in *Hebrews*, the Levitical law, and especially that of sacrifice. Paul surely does not exclude this from his thought, but for him the law is largely the moral law. Its end was a spiritual life; when that was found by the path of dying with Christ and rising with him, the law had done its work. Paul and the author of *Hebrews* move in different fields in their distinctive interpretations of the Old Testament, though the language and thought of the latter is repeatedly influenced by the Pauline epistles.

His great, central argument completed, the author of *Hebrews* turns to the consideration of faith, and here again his dominantly intellectual temper gives his thought a different, more limited range than that of Paul, and yet one that has much significance and beauty, if it be not

confused with Paul's thought. He essays first a definition of faith. On the supposition that Paul wrote Hebrews, it has been natural to understand that his doctrine of salvation by faith meant salvation by an intellectual act, a misunderstanding that has had for centuries sad and even tragic consequences. Since Paul himself does not attempt a definition of faith, it is natural to have the connotation of Hebrews' definition in mind while reading Paul.

The definition is one of supreme beauty and worth for the kind of faith that the writer of Hebrews possesses—Now faith is the *hypostasis* of things hoped for. The word is the one used to denote the real being of God,¹⁸ of which the Son is the impress or image. Here it may be translated "substance," "assurance," or "perhaps title-deed, as that which gives reality or guarantee."¹⁹ Now faith is the assurance of things hoped for, a conviction [or proof] of things not seen.

Then there follows the wonderful rhetorical passage in which there are presented by concrete examples the rich fruits of this power to live as seeing the unseen. The list of the fruits of faith from Abel's acceptable sacrifice through the early heroes of the faith is interrupted with the thought that all these had not received the promise, but that they were seeking after a better, a heavenly land. The list is resumed with the sacrificial faith of Abraham; just when it might grow monotonous, the style changes with the rhetorical question: And what shall I more say? followed by a more rapid summary of heroes and achievements of faith.

Then comes an appeal to those compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses to run with endurance the race, looking unto Jesus, the author and perfecter of faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross.

¹⁸ i. 3.

¹⁹ Abbott-Smith, *Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*.

Here the immediate needs of the readers are distinctly before the writer's mind; persecution has begun, though they have not yet resisted unto blood. They are experiencing a father's chastening of his sons.

Whether the passage just reviewed²⁰ be considered from the point of view of rhetorical skill, beauty and truth of thought, or appropriateness to the needs of the destined readers, few passages of similar length in all prose literature will be found more excellent.

We may, perhaps, feel an anti-climax in the enumeration of sundry Christian privileges and duties which follows this splendid section. The moral precepts are admirable, but they seem tacked on, without much connection with the previous discussions. With Paul, the moral injunctions evolve inevitably from the particular aspects of doctrine with which he chances to be dealing at the time. The author of Hebrews may well have been a man of spotless character, but the moral life was no such essential part of his whole being and thinking as with Paul. He had never passed through such a struggle as that which Paul describes in the seventh chapter of Romans.

We have sought to understand somewhat of this great writer's thought and personality, before touching upon the vexed question of his identification with any known leader of the first Christian century. From the fifth to the nineteenth, or even the twentieth, century, he has been commonly identified with Paul. The aim of the previous discussion has not been to prove this belief wrong; we have compared and contrasted the thought and personality of the author of Hebrews with those of Paul, as also the authors of Matthew and I Peter, in the hope of better appreciating the significance of each. If, however, anything further than such a comparison were needed to lay in any reader's mind the mischievous idea that Paul wrote

²⁰ xi. 1-xii. 13.

this epistle, a detailed comparison of language and style might be added to make conviction doubly sure. Nor do we need to overthrow early Christian tradition in order to deny Pauline authorship.

In the East, the authorship of Paul began to be broached about 200 A.D., but even then Clement of Alexandria thought of Luke as responsible for the Greek, recognized as more classical than that of Paul. Two centuries more passed before the authority of Augustine and Jerome began to fix the tradition of Paul's authorship upon the Western Church. Both in the case of the earlier suggestion of Paul as the author in Alexandria and in that of Jerome, there was doubt in the matter. Later generations forgot the doubts and counted the authorship of the great Apostle to the Gentiles as certain. The authorship of Barnabas and of Clement of Rome had earlier found advocates among the Church Fathers. Luther thought of Apollos, and, except for the lack of any tradition of his authorship in the early Christian centuries, this suggestion perhaps has more to commend it than that of any other Christian teacher named in the New Testament. In more recent generations many attempts to prove one or another of the known leaders among the early Christians the writer have been made, but without securing general assent in any case. We shall have to remain content with the anonymity of the writing, reminding ourselves that there were very many teachers and preachers among the first century Christians unnamed in the selected narratives of Acts or in the occasional personal allusions of the epistles.

More important than the name of the writer for a genuine acquaintance with him and an appreciation of his significance are such facts as to his education, modes of thought, temperament, and personality as may readily be gathered from his epistle. He clearly reveals himself as one who has had the Greek rhetorical training characteristic espe-

cially of the Jews of Alexandria. Like Apollos of that city, he was an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures.²¹ It was, however, the Greek translation of the sacred writings, rather than the Hebrew original which he used. The similarity of his language and concepts to those of Philo have been noted. Such characteristics imply direct or indirect influence of the great Hellenic philosophers. This is emphasized by his conception of the earthly ritual as the shadow or copy of the eternal realities, an application of the Platonic doctrine that objects of sense possess a merely borrowed existence. The entire physical world being only a symbol, an allegory, or a figure of speech, while Ideas are the eternal patterns after which things of sense are made.

Where the writer was when he wrote, what was the date of his writing, and what the particular group of readers he had in mind, are all matters of uncertainty. We infer that he is at some place where a group of Christians from Rome are sojourning at the time—They from Italy salute you, he writes.²² This friendly greeting suggests also the possibility, which some scholars seem to count a certainty, that the destined recipients were in Italy, perhaps some house-church in Rome; it is felt that the writing implies a smaller group than the Christians of Rome as a whole.

The use of the epistle by Clement of Rome is regarded as fixing its composition before 96 A.D., the usually accepted date for I Clement. Some of the language of Hebrews suggests that the Temple ritual is still being practiced. If that were the case the date would have to be placed before 70, which would be difficult to harmonize with the representation that the first generation of witnesses has passed away. Those addressed seem to have passed through persecution for the faith soon after their con-

²¹ Acts xviii. 24.

²² xiii. 24.

version,²³ since which time a sufficient interval has elapsed for their early leaders to have died,²⁴ and now a new persecution is beginning.²⁵ Such a succession of experiences might be possible in a local church without any direct connection with known outbreaks of official persecution; but if the community addressed is of Rome, then the allusions fit well with the persecution by Nero in 64 and the beginnings of sufferings under Domitian not far from the year 90. While certainty is impossible, we are disposed to place the writing near the close of that obscure period of New Testament history extending from 70 to 90 A.D.

The heading early attached to Hebrews suggests that the epistle was primarily designed to win Jews to the Christian faith, but the contents of the document itself indicate rather the purpose of establishing those who have long been Christians²⁶ in a reasoned faith that shall enable them to withstand persecution. Nor do the contents of the writing suggest that the Christians addressed were necessarily converts from Judaism. The great influence that this epistle has had upon Christian theology shows that, as a matter of experience, it has made a wide and strong appeal to Gentile Christians down through the centuries.

²³ x. 32f.

²⁵ xii. 3-8.

²⁴ xiii. 7.

²⁶ v. 12.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CLOSING DECADE OF THE CENTURY

The earlier years of Domitian who succeeded his older brother Titus in 81 A.D., were marked by severe measures against the grosser forms of immorality among the Romans and by active support of the State religion. The historian Dion Cassius records that in this reign many were put to death or had their property confiscated on the charge of sacrilege. In his zeal for the religion of the State, Domitian went beyond his predecessors in pressing the claim that the emperor should receive divine honors during his lifetime.

He thus made inevitable a conflict between the government and faithful Jew and Christian alike, representatives of whom were probably included in the number to whom Dion Cassius refers. Pliny's oft-quoted letter to Trajan, asking for instructions as to the treatment of those in his province accused of being Christians, shows that already before the time of writing, in the early years of the second century, it had become a capital offence in the Empire to adhere to Christianity, and indicates also that the test of innocence of the charge was readiness to give divine honors to the emperor's image.¹ There were no doubt sporadic persecutions of the Christians before Domitian's reign, especially after Nero's slaughter of them in Rome, but it appears to have been under this later emperor, who caused himself to be styled in public documents "Our Lord and

¹ Epistles X, 96.

God" (*Dominus et Deus*) that Christianity was first definitely outlawed.

If I Peter reflects the conditions of Domitian's time, it must have been, at the latest, before the issue between State and Church had reached its climax. The author counsels complete submission to king and governors as means of silencing ignorant charges and appears to hope that the Christians may thus put a stop to persecutions.² The attitude is similar to that of Paul who counted rulers as ordained of God and a terror only to the evil work.³

When Hebrews was written, the group to which it was addressed, although knowing persecution, had not yet resisted unto blood. Before the Apocalypse was composed, a later stage had been reached; those who have refused to worship the image of the beast have been killed.⁴ Rome is a woman drunken with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of Jesus;⁵ the saints, apostles, and prophets are called upon to rejoice over her whom God has judged.⁶

The earliest tradition as to the date of the Book of Revelation⁷ assigns it to the latter part of the reign of Domitian. This is in close accord with our information from Roman sources that in the latter years of his reign Domitian's character changed for the worse, much as that of Herod had done a century before. The revolt of the commander of the forces in upper Germany, Antonius Saturninus, some eight years after the emperor's accession, seems to mark the turning point. With the emperor distrusting all about him, in constant fear of assassination, and in chronic need of money, no man of prominence or wealth was safe from the death penalty. The emperor's own cousin and nephew by marriage, Flavius Clemens, was sentenced to death, and his wife, Domitian's niece Doma-

² I Pet. ii. 12-17, iii. 16.

³ Rom. xiii. 1-3.

⁴ Rev. xiii. 15.

⁵ xvii. 6.

⁶ xviii. 20.

⁷ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, V, 30, 3.

tilla, was banished. Domatilla, if not her husband, is supposed to have been a Christian. Especially during the very last years of his reign, the emperor's conduct is characterized as that of a madman.

Given the general facts of Domitian's autocratic rule from such writers as Dion Cassius and Tacitus, the book of Revelation affords a lurid picture of the effects upon the Christians, at least in the province of Asia, during the years when the issue between the divine claims of an emperor and Christianity had become clearly defined. In the Letters to the Seven Churches prefixed to the Apocalypse, we are introduced to the internal conditions of the Christian churches of the province of Asia, possibly at a slightly earlier date than that reflected in some parts of the Apocalypse itself. The writer sees his contemporaries falling into moral corruption, eating things offered to idols, lukewarm in their religious life, altogether unready for the great trial which is soon to come upon them in full force.

The Fourth Gospel and Johannine epistles, usually assigned to the same decade, concern themselves, so far as they reveal the definite historical background of their writing, with the attitude of the churches toward Jesus as the Christ. The Gospel and First Epistle are concerned to convince their readers that the flesh and blood Jesus who had lived on earth was the eternal Son of God, the very Word or Thought of God become flesh. One who denied this was the Anti-Christ. It seems clear that when these writings were composed, the form of Gnostic speculation which appears prominently in the second century and is known as Docetism, had already begun to take definite shape.

Since these writings are appropriately assigned to the same provenance as the Apocalypse, it may seem strange that they do not reflect either the background of persecution of the Apocalypse proper or the moral perversities indicated

in the introductory letters to the churches. It may seem equally strange that the hope of the immediate return of Christ to overthrow the great enemy of the Church and reign on earth is absent. Difference of authorship may in part account for the different interests shaping the writing, but it is difficult to escape the conviction that the Gospel and First Epistle of John must have been written after the persecution of Domitian had spent its fury and so, presumably, after the tyrant's death in the year 96.

In II and III John, real letters, sent, the one to a certain church, and the other to a leading individual in a church, the indications point to an absence of ecclesiastical organization similar to the conditions already noted in the Pauline churches of Asia and Corinth. On the other hand, the Pastoral Epistles, I and II Timothy and Titus, indicate a state of church organization of which we do not find clear evidence elsewhere in the New Testament. If these could be shown to be in their present form genuine writings of the Apostle Paul, they would make it evident that he was released from his Roman imprisonment and traveled about, to Crete, Ephesus, and Greece, taking care for the organization of the churches with bishops and deacons, in a fashion very different from that shown in the epistles which are generally recognized as his genuine writings. Granting the release and rearrest, such care in the interval would not be inherently impossible, but the organization is assumed in the Pastorals as something already familiar and existing, in a way that is surprising.

Quite independently of this historical difficulty, we are forced on grounds of language, literary style, and thought, to the conviction that we have in the Pastorals no more from Paul than possible fragments, greatly elaborated by a later hand, so that we cannot use them as sources for our knowledge of church organization in his day. The conditions which they indicate are such as prevailed not

earlier than the latter part of the century. They show that by that time, bishop (overseer) has become an office sought after and that, as always in such cases, there is danger that the office seekers may not be men of the most desirable type.

The bishop, it is declared, must be a man of blameless moral life, the husband of one wife, proving himself able to rule by first controlling his own children. He must be given to hospitality and he must be a teacher able to exhort and to defend sound doctrine against disputants.⁸

Along with the bishops, deacons appear prominently in these epistles. We learn that the deacon received his gift by prophecy, with the laying on of hands by the council of elders.⁹ The deacon was expected to teach¹⁰ and preach, reproving, rebuking, exhorting, doing the work of an evangelist.¹¹

A subordinate, but interesting feature of the organization of the churches at this time is found in the instructions given regarding the enrollment of widows. It appears that a widow who had reached sixty years of age and had been given to Christian service, might be registered on the church rolls to receive support, if her family could not provide for her.¹²

The various safeguards provided as to the character of church officers and other allusions in these writings indicate that the moral evils which had early appeared in the unorganized Church of Corinth had to be carefully guarded against in the later organization of the churches of the *Ægean* regions.

From the last quarter of the second century, there comes the definite tradition that John, the disciple of the Lord, who leaned upon his breast, published a Gospel dur-

⁸ I Tim. iii. 1-7, Titus i. 5-9.

⁹ I Tim. iv. 6, 14.

¹⁰ I Tim. iv. 16.

¹¹ II Tim. iv. 1-5.

¹² I Tim. v. 3-16.

ing his residence at Ephesus in Asia¹³ and that he lived there until the time of Trajan, that is until 98 A.D.¹⁴ The most intense efforts have been made to trace this tradition back from Irenæus (about 180 A.D.) to earlier witnesses. It is argued that the eighty years intervening between Irenæus's writing and the close of the first century may be bridged by the fact that Irenæus claims to have had acquaintance with Polycarp who was, he says, a personal disciple of John. Independent references to John's residence in Ephesus come from Polycrates, Bishop of Hierapolis, and Clement of Alexandria, at the end of the second century.

Papias, writing in the first half of the century, distinguishes the John who was one of the Twelve from John a Presbyter, a disciple of the Lord whom Papias himself had known and who had lived in Asia during the latter part of the first century. Irenæus did not distinguish this Presbyter John from John the son of Zebedee, so it has been thought by some scholars that this other John may have been the one residing in Asia and that Irenæus wrongly supposed that it was John the son of Zebedee, one of the Twelve. It is considered probable by many that the son of Zebedee met his death before the fall of Jerusalem; his martyrdom, like that of his brother James, seems to have been anticipated by Jesus.¹⁵ We have no information concerning this Presbyter John except that of Papias, but his shadowy figure has played a considerable part in the voluminous discussions of the authorship of the Johannine literature.

¹³ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, III, 1, 1.

¹⁴ Nerva 96-98, Trajan 98-117.

¹⁵ Mk. x. 39; Mt. xx. 33.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE REVELATION OF JOHN

On the barren little island of Patmos lying to the west of Miletus about thirty miles from the coast of Asia Minor, in the latter years of the reign of Domitian, a Jewish Christian named John felt himself in the Spirit on the Lord's day and impelled to write to the churches of the province of Asia. The identification of this John with the beloved disciple and Elder to whom we owe the Fourth Gospel and the epistles known as I, II and III John, has been the object of long and strenuous effort.

Minute examination of language, style, thought, and background have led to the conclusion that all five writings come from the same general region, at the same general period, and from the same intellectual and spiritual environment. It seems pretty clear, however, as noted in the previous chapter, that while the vision of Patmos is to be dated before Domitian's death, the Gospel and epistles date from the years after that event, when the accession of Nerva had brought the Christians of Asia some relief from persecution. In some such general statement as to origin and date, both ancient tradition and modern criticism can agree.

Certain references in Revelation, it is true, imply a time prior to the destruction of Jerusalem¹ or in the decade following;² these have often been used to maintain the view that early tradition was wrong in dating the book in

¹ xi. 1-2.

² xvii. 10.

the reign of Domitian. If an earlier date could be demonstrated, some have felt that there would be less difficulty in maintaining that the Apocalypse and the Gospel were written by the same hand. The writer of the Apocalypse produced Greek different in its constructions from that of any other known document. It has commonly been described as ungrammatical, but the latest commentator³ maintains that the writer had a grammar all his own. In contrast, the Gospel and Epistles are written in smooth and usually correct Greek. As discussion has advanced, it has become more and more widely recognized that, whatever may be the date of some of its elements, the completed Apocalypse must come from a time more than twenty years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

If it were only differences in language which militated against unity of authorship, it would be possible to meet the difficulty by supposing that the author of the Apocalypse was responsible for the thought of the Gospel and Epistles while a disciple or translator had shaped their Greek. Indeed competent scholars have recently maintained that certain phenomena of the Gospel's language indicate that it was originally written in Aramaic. The difficulties in believing that John the Apocalyptist and the author of the Gospel and Epistles can be one and the same lie far deeper than differences in the mastery of Greek idiom.

Some have felt that the Apocalypse rather than the Gospel was to be assigned to John the son of Zebedee. The spirit of the Apocalypse accords far better with the surname "Son of Thunder" which Jesus gave to that John⁴ than the spirit of the Gospel does. It is noted also that it was John and his brother who desired permission to command fire to come down from heaven to destroy the inhospitable Samaritans⁵ and who on the final journey to

³ R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John, Internat. Crit. Com.*

⁴ Mk. iii. 17.

⁵ Lk. ix. 54.

Jerusalem were looking for a visible kingdom in which they might sit on the right and left of the Lord.⁶

These glimpses of the young man John suggest the apocalyptic temper and point of view as characteristic of his thought and spirit. In addition we have the early tradition, going back to the time of Justin in the middle of the second century, that the Apostle John was the author of the Apocalypse, while our earliest tradition as to the Gospel comes from Irenæus, a quarter of a century later.

Other modern writers deny the possibility of John the son of Zebedee being the author of any of the books traditionally ascribed to him, on the ground that he must have suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Jews years before they were written. Jesus' assurance to both James and John that they shall drink of the cup of which he drinks is felt to imply not only that Jesus foretold a martyr's death for both, but that this had already come to pass for John as well as James, before Mark was written. In accord with this view are the statements found in a Christian writer of the ninth century, Georgios Hamartolos, quoting Papias as saying that John was slain by the Jews, and in a fragment of a century or two earlier which seems to be based on a chronicle of the fifth century, that John the divine was slain by the Jews.

Later Christian fathers, feeling the difficulties in assigning the Apocalypse and Gospel to the same writer, suggested John Mark or John the Presbyter as the author of the Apocalypse, thus retaining the tradition generally established from the time of Irenæus, that John the son of Zebedee was the author of the Gospel, at the expense of assigning the Apocalypse to another disciple also named John, contrary to the early tradition of Justin. Among some modern critics the suggestion that the Apocalypticist was John the Presbyter has received much favor.

⁶ Mk. x. 35-45, Mt. xx. 20-28.

In the present state of our knowledge, all that can be maintained with certainty as to the author of the Apocalypse is what may be gathered from the book itself. From that it is clear that he was a Jewish Christian named John, resident in the province of Asia, claiming the right of a prophet to reprove, rebuke, warn, and encourage the churches in the region, writing at the time of Domitian's persecution. It is evident that this Christian prophet is saturated with the ideas and language of the Jewish apocalyptic writers from Ezekiel on. Their phrases, symbols, and pictures sprinkle his every page.

A few examples may serve to illustrate: one like unto a son of man,⁷ Daniel; four beasts full of eyes before and behind,⁸ Daniel, Ezekiel; horses of various colors,⁹ Zechariah; forty and two months, a thousand two hundred, and three score days, a time and times and half a time,¹⁰ Daniel; the two olive trees and two candlesticks,¹¹ Zechariah; the kings of the whole world, to gather them together unto the great day of God,¹² Ezekiel, Zephaniah; Gog and Magog, to gather them together to the war,¹³ Ezekiel.

Having absorbed the apocalyptic literary method and conceptions of world-history, he presents the events of his own time under the fantastic imagery in which the apocalyptic writers had pictured the course of history as they understood it. A great new element has, however, entered into his world-view. Some former writers had pictured a Messianic deliverer, human or superhuman, as about to come with God himself and bring succor and triumph to the faithful.

For this writer the slain Jesus, now in heaven, is the coming deliverer. He is the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, the Lamb that has been slain.¹⁴ Before

⁷ i. 13.⁸ iv. 6.⁹ vi. 2-8.¹⁰ xi. 2-3, xii. 14¹¹ xi. 4.¹² xvi. 14.¹³ xx. 8.¹⁴ v. 5, 6.

the throne and the Lamb there stands an innumerable multitude out of every nation and people, arrayed in white robes.¹⁵ He is the Christ who shall reign for ever and ever.¹⁶ As in the case of the writer of Hebrews, the conviction that the slain one has ascended to heaven is the basic fact to be wrought into his Jewish faith. Each interprets the fact of his Christian belief in terms of his previous Jewish conceptions.

The time of writing is indicated by the general tenor of the book with its picture of Rome as the arch enemy and persecutor of Christianity and especially its emphasis upon the worship of the image of the beast. Further indication may be found in the identification of the eighth king as one of the seven.¹⁷ Nero, the fifth emperor, met his death, probably by his own hand, in an obscure house outside of Rome, in the year 68 A.D. Many did not credit the information that he was dead, and the idea became current that he had fled to the Parthians, as he is said to have contemplated doing before his suicide. In the year 69, a pseudo-Nero raised disturbances in Asia Minor and Greece. During the reign of Titus, a second was acknowledged by the Parthian king, and even as late as 88, during the reign of Domitian, a third appeared among the Parthians.

Putting together various references in Revelation, it is fairly clear that Domitian is there represented as Nero returned. The head of the beast which had been smitten unto death and had had its death-stroke healed¹⁸ probably refers to the revival of Nero. He is also supposed to be denoted by the number of the beast, Six hundred sixty and six.¹⁹ Of the many attempted explanations of this cryptic number, that which interprets it from the fact that

¹⁵ vii. 9.¹⁸ xiii. 3.¹⁶ xi. 15.¹⁹ xiii. 18.¹⁷ xvii. 11.

Neron Cæsar, when written in Aramaic letters, has the numerical value of 666, is the most probable.²⁰

Taking these references in connection with xvii, 9-11, it appears that the Apocalyptist embodied in verses 9 and 10 a prediction written during the latter part of the reign of the sixth emperor, Vespasian, which anticipated that Vespasian's son Titus would complete the tale of Roman emperors by a short reign, a prediction that may have been based on the belief that Divine vengeance must certainly fall upon the destroyer of Jerusalem. Titus's reign did prove to be brief (79-81); his condition of health was hopeless when his father died, but his brother Domitian succeeded him so that the number of Roman emperors was not limited to the number of the city's hills.²¹

After the eighth emperor has come to the throne, our writer adds to the older prediction verse 11: And the beast that was and is not is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven; and he goeth into perdition. Resemblances between Nero and Domitian were recognized by pagan authors, but to the Christians of the latter years of Domitian's reign the identification must have had peculiar force.

The fact that materials are embodied from earlier sources complicates the problem of placing the book of Revelation in its proper historical setting. Indications of these have been found, in addition to the passages of xi. 1-13 and xvii, in vii. 1-8, xiii, xviii, and possibly xv. 5-8.²² While John has not always brought the details of these into perfect harmony with his own time and point of view, he has succeeded in giving a great, dramatic presentation of the

²⁰ This explanation has the merit of accounting for the variant reading 616 of certain manuscripts, for if Neron is spelled in the Latin form Nero, the number becomes 616.

²¹ xvii. 9.

²² See Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, in *Int. Crit. Com.*, I, pp. lxii-lxv.

existing situation of the Church and of his hope for future deliverance, in which he embodies his Christian faith that the slain Jesus is now exalted in heaven.

After the brief superscription, with its statement of the heavenly source of the book, the name of the human writer, the theme, and the blessedness of those who read and observe the words of the prophecy, there follows an epistolary greeting to the seven churches of Asia and an account of the circumstances under which the revelation was given.²³ The next two chapters contain the individual letters to each of the churches.

With chapter iv the Apocalypse itself begins to unfold the dramatic picture of the symbolic events in heaven, interpreting the present and recent conditions on earth and indicating their anticipated outcome. The first act of the drama is that of the Book or Scroll sealed with seven seals. No one in heaven is found worthy to open this book of destiny save the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David. As this Lion, who proves to be the slain Lamb, takes the book from him who sat upon the throne, four living creatures and four and twenty elders, worshipping before him with lamps and golden bowls full of incense—the prayers of the saints—sing a new song of his worthiness to open the scroll, because with his blood he has purchased men of every tribe, tongue, and nation, and has made them a kingdom and priests unto God. Ten thousand times ten thousand angels, living creatures, and elders around the throne take up the song; every created thing of heaven and earth and the underworld catches up the strain in universal ascription of praise.

As the first four seals are opened one by one, horses and riders come forth to spread conquest, war, want, and death by sword, famine, and beast of prey. With the opening of the fifth seal, there are revealed beneath the altar the

souls of those who had been slain for the word of God. Crying for avenging, they are bidden to rest a little while until their brethren who are to meet the same fate are slain. The opening of the sixth seal is accompanied by cosmic convulsions that bring utter terror to all on the earth.²⁴

At this point the drama of impending woes pauses that the servants of God, twelve thousand from every tribe of Israel, may receive the impression of God's seal upon their foreheads, and that there may be given a wondrous vision of the destiny of those who are yet to suffer in the great tribulation.²⁵

The opening of the seventh seal is followed by a silence in heaven, while the prayers of the saints ascend as incense before God. Then the angel who has offered this incense breaks the silence by casting fire from the altar upon the earth so that thunders roll, lightnings flash, and the earth is shaken. Seven angels who have stood by the throne of God holding trumpets prepare to sound.

Thus the vision of the Seven-Sealed Book unfolds into the next act—that of the Angels with the Seven Trumpets. As the first four trumpets are sounded, destruction comes to all vegetation upon a third of the land, to a third of everything living in or sailing on the sea, to a third part of all the rivers and springs of water, and to a third part of the sun, moon, and stars. With the sounding of the fifth trumpet the pit of the abyss is opened and locusts come forth; they have the appearance of horses prepared for war, with men's faces, long hair, lions' teeth, and tails like scorpions that sting. For a time they are to torment all upon the earth who do not bear the seal of God. Their king is the angel of the abyss, Apollyon (Destruction).

With the sounding of the sixth trumpet, the four angels

²⁴ iv-vi.

²⁵ vii.

that had been bound at the river Euphrates were loosed to kill a third part of men. There rode twice ten thousand times ten thousand warriors on monstrous horses that were lion-headed and breathed forth destroying fire, smoke, and brimstone, while their tails were deadly serpents. Yet the rest of mankind who escaped this fearful destruction repented not of their false worship and moral corruption.²⁶

Before the sounding of the seventh trumpet, as before the opening of the seventh seal, there comes an interlude²⁷ in which the prophet is given a message through a book and then introduces a prophecy concerning Jerusalem, evidently originally written before the year 70. In this prediction, the protection of the Temple itself is promised, while Jerusalem and the outer court of the Temple are trampled down by the Gentiles for three years and a half. The writer's purpose in introducing this bit of an earlier apocalypse concerning Jerusalem is difficult to explain. Possibly it was to give assurance that Israel should repent after a warning judgment,²⁸ in contrast to those Gentiles who did not repent,²⁹ and so to carry out what seems to be a part of the plan of the whole—to lighten the gloom at intervals with foreglances of hope. Before this distinctly Jewish bit, assurance is given that the world-wide view will be resumed.³⁰ Dramatically, in this case and the preceding one, the interlude has obvious significance in preparing for the climax of the section as the seventh trumpet is to sound. It is like nature's hush before the storm.

As the seventh trumpet sounds, great voices are heard in heaven, declaring that the kingdom of the world is God's

²⁶ viii-ix. In this section there seems confusion between a series of three and one of seven angels with trumpets. Perhaps originally there were only three trumpet blasts and a later hand sought to bring this vision into agreement with the preceding by adding four more. See Charles, *Rev. of St. John, Int. Crit. Com., in loc.*

²⁷ x. 1-xi. 13.

²⁸ xi. 13.

²⁹ ix. 20-21.

³⁰ x. 11.

and Christ's forever. The four and twenty elders give thanks before God, seeing the struggle accomplished, the wicked destroyed, and the prophets and saints rewarded. This scene of heavenly rejoicing as seeing the end already attained, like the quiet scene of the incense-prayers arising before God that followed the opening of the seventh seal, ends in an outburst of lightnings, voices, thunders, and earthquake,³¹ and we pass to the decisive struggle with Satan.

In heaven a supernatural woman is seen robed with the sun, having the moon for a footstool and wearing a crown of stars. She is about to be delivered of a child, and before her there stands a terrible dragon ready to devour the child. But the Messianic child who was destined to rule the nations with a rod of iron was caught up to the throne of God. The woman fled to the wilderness to a prepared place, there to be nourished for three and a half years while Michael and his angels should war upon the dragon (Satan) and his hosts, casting them down to earth. No more shall Satan accuse the brethren before God; he has been overcome because of the blood of the Lamb. Heaven is freed, but he is to rage on earth for the short time allotted him. On earth he pursues the woman who flees to the place prepared for her safety, but the dragon vents his wrath on her seed that keeps the commandments of God.

Out of the sea there now comes a terrible, seven-headed beast to which the dragon gives his power. One of the seven heads seems to have been smitten unto death, but the death-stroke was healed. The dragon is worshiped because he has given his authority to the beast, and the beast is worshiped because of his power. Authority was given to the beast for three and a half years. He was to make war with the saints and to overcome them. Authority

³¹ xi. 19, *cf.* viii. 5.

over all nations was given to him; all whose names were not written in the Lamb's book of life were to worship him.

A second beast with the authority of the first comes out of the sea and makes the people worship the beast whose death-stroke was healed, telling them to make an image of the beast who has the stroke of the sword and lives. A mark was put upon every man and none was allowed to buy or sell unless he bore the mark, the name or the number of the name of the beast, six hundred and sixty-six.³²

Again the horror of the vision is relieved by the insertion of an anticipatory vision of the ultimate deliverance of the faithful. The hundred and forty and four thousand who had been sealed in their foreheads as servants of God³³ are seen with the Lamb on Mt. Zion singing a new song. Angels appear, flying in midheaven, proclaiming the fall of Rome and those who worship the beast. One like a son of man comes upon a cloud with a reaping sickle in his hand and his judgment falls upon the earth.³⁴

The series of sevenfold plagues is now resumed with the announcement that in this third group the wrath of God is finished. There is again a heavenly prelude in which those who have come off victorious from the beast and his image and the number of his name are heard singing the song of Moses and the Lamb. Then the heavenly temple is opened and seven angels bearing the seven plagues come forth; each is given a bowl full of the wrath of God to be poured out into the earth. The pouring out of the first brought a noisome sore to the men who had the mark of the beast and worshiped his image. The second and third turned the sea to blood destroying all its life, and the rivers and springs too, so that there was only blood to

³² xii-xiii. The second beast evidently represents the officers charged with setting up the emperor's image and establishing his worship.

³³ vii. 3-4.

³⁴ xiv.

drink in requital for the outpoured blood of saints and prophets. The fourth poured out his bowl upon the sun and caused it to scorch men with great heat; yet they were only led to blaspheme, not to repent. The fifth poured his bowl upon the throne of the beast so that the kingdom was darkened, but here too blasphemy and not repentance resulted. The sixth poured his bowl upon the river Euphrates and its waters were dried up, for the kings to come from the east. Then from the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet (the second beast) spirits of demons came forth to go to the kings of the whole world to gather them together unto the war of the great day of God. When the seventh angel poured out his bowl upon the air, there followed lightnings, voices, thunders, and an earthquake that rent Rome into three parts and destroyed the islands and mountains of the world; terrible hail fell, but men only blasphemed because of the plague.⁸⁵

One of the seven angels now takes the seer to the wilderness to see the judgment of the great harlot, a woman clothed in purple and scarlet who has corrupted the world. The woman proves to be the great city which reigns over the kings of the earth. The seven heads of the beast that bears her are the seven hills on which she sits and they are also seven kings; an eighth king, one of the seven, will come to rule and go into perdition. Ultimately the beast and ten confederate kings, who for a time support the harlot, will turn and consume her. God has led them to give their kingdom to the beast until his words shall be accomplished. Another glorious angel comes down out of heaven to sing Rome's doom-song. A second heavenly voice joins the song; then successively the kings of the earth who had shared her sin, the merchants who had trafficked with her, and the mariners who gained their living by sea took up the strain of lament and doom over the fall of the

⁸⁵ xv-xvi.

great city. The series of threnodies is concluded by a strong angel hurling a great stone into the sea as a symbol of the downfall; a solemn dirge is heard picturing the death-stillness and darkness of the great city where there had been music and light and the voice of busy industry.³⁶

The scene returns to heaven, dirge gives place to hymn of praise to God who has judged the great harlot and to wedding song for the marriage of the Lamb and his bride, the New Jerusalem. Heaven opens and the Logos of God rides forth on a white horse to the great final struggle against the kings of the earth and their armies. The beast and false prophet are taken and cast alive into the lake of fire that burneth with brimstone; the rest are killed with the sword of him who sat upon the horse.³⁷ An angel comes down from heaven, binds the Satan-dragon and casts him into the abyss where he is to be imprisoned for a thousand years. Then he is to be loosed for a little time to gather the nations together against the camp of the holy saints; but fire from heaven will devour the hosts, and Satan himself will be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone. The great final judgment will then come; the sea and death and Hades will give up their victims, and all will be judged according to their works.³⁸

A new heaven and a new earth replace the old; the holy city, New Jerusalem, comes down from God in heaven adorned as a bride for her husband. A great voice declares that the tabernacle of God is with men, and he shall dwell with them and wipe away every tear; death and mourning shall be no more. From the throne of God and the Lamb proceeds a river of water of life with the tree of life on either side. Night shall be no more, nor lamp nor sun, for the Lord God shall give them light, and they shall reign forever.³⁹

³⁶ xvii-xviii.

³⁸ xx.

³⁷ xix.

³⁹ xxi-xxii. 5.

In the Epilogue, repeated assurance is given that the words have come from God and that the time is at hand.

Like its Jewish prototypes, the Apocalypse of John bears witness to unquenchable faith that the God of justice rules and will not suffer tyranny forever on the throne. Like those earlier writings, it is a message of hope for the despairing. Parts of the book probably took shape under the monster Nero, but the background of the completed whole is to be found in the closing years of the second Nero. Domitian "who decimated the Roman aristocracy towards the end of his reign," who in his terror of assassination "walked in a corridor where the walls were lined with mirrors, so that no unseen hand might strike him from behind," who "loved to play with his victims" and "took delight in exquisite torture,"⁴⁰ was upon the throne. This cruel tyrant could not be expected to show mercy to a humble sect of those who refused to worship his image.—The martyrs of Jesus washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb. Out of such a time, when Rome herself was drunk with her own blood, came this wonderful, dramatic presentation of the age-long struggle of the powers of evil, personified as the dragon, the old serpent, with the one that is called Faithful and True, the Word of God. There is no light, false optimism, the struggle must go on, but the seer's faith counts the issue sure; he sees the kingdom of the world become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.

Like the Jewish apocalyptists also, the seer shows the sad limitation of conceiving victory possible only in terms of force and destroying sword. The faith that comes to expression in such an hour, on the part of one steeped in the conceptions and imagery of apocalypse, even though he has caught a glimpse of the Lamb that was slain, is not faith

⁴⁰ Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, pp. 53, 57.

in all-conquering love. That is the terrible limitation of the apocalyptic outlook.

Of the different streams of thought and hope that flow through the New Testament from its earliest to its latest writings, one has been described as individual, another social. The latter has as its goal the kingdom of God, righteousness and peace on earth as in heaven. Its finest and purest expression is found in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew with their parables of the kingdom and especially with their conception of the fulfillment of the moral law in a society where the very motives of action are pure.

The book of Revelation has been classed as a supplement to the social ideal of the Gospel of Jesus perpetuated in the Matthean and Petrine tradition.⁴¹ We may find in the book occasional passages which indicate an appreciation of the value of morality,⁴² usually lacking in the purely Jewish apocalypses, and throughout there is a splendid appreciation of the glory of steadfast refusal to purchase life at the price of unfaithfulness, but even as a supplement to the Gospel presentation of Jesus' teaching in Matthew and Mark, the interpretation of the kingdom in this writing affords a sad anticlimax. The writer seems too limited by the darkness of the time and by his apocalyptic conception of God and history to enter into the deeper truths of Jesus. We cannot wonder that the inclusion of this book in the Christian Canon was long in dispute, and that it has never been universally accepted as appropriate for reading in the services of the Church of Christ.

⁴¹ B. W. Bacon, *The Making of the New Testament*, pp. 247-8.

⁴² E.g. xxi. 8.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE EPISTLES OF JOHN

The group of writings known as the Gospel and Epistles of John contain no clear indications as to the order in which they were all written. Since the "Second" and "Third" Epistles are the only ones of the four writings which contain any designation of their author and since they also give some indication of his position in the churches to which he addresses himself, we will consider these first; they may have been the earliest in point of time or the latest.

These are both genuine letters, as we have noted, the one addressed apparently to a church and the other to an individual named Gaius, very possibly a member of that church, for the two may well be companion letters sent at the same time. The writer styles himself "the Elder" and seems accustomed to travel about among a group of churches exercising some oversight. His authority is disputed by a certain Diotrephes who desires to be first in the church to which Gaius belongs. This Gaius has received hospitably the brethren and strangers who have visited the community, but Diotrephes has refused to receive them and has tried to prevent others from doing so. The immediate occasion of the letter appears to be the commendation of a certain Demetrius to a hospitable reception as a well attested Christian brother.

The "Second Epistle" is addressed by the Elder to "the elect Lady" and her "children" and contains greeting from

the "children" of her "elect Sister." These terms are almost certainly figurative titles for two churches and their members, the one where the Elder is at the time and the one to which the letter is sent. Like III John, this letter emphasizes loving, Christian fellowship, but seems designed particularly to give warning against certain false teachers who are visiting the churches and maintaining that Jesus Messiah has not come in the flesh. Such an one, the Elder declares, is the deceiver and the antichrist.¹

Here and in I John "the antichrist" is referred to as a familiar term to the writer and readers. Indeed, in I John, the readers are reminded that they have heard that the antichrist cometh² and that the coming is the indication of the last hour. Yet only in these two epistles, of all the New Testament literature, does the name appear. The preposition prefixed to the name of Christ in the compound may signify one who is opposed to or one who takes the place of. In Johannine use the name would seem to incline toward the former significance, for it does not appear that those who were denying that Jesus Christ had come in the flesh were themselves assuming the guise of Christ. Although Paul does not use the term, his "man of sin" "who opposes and exalteth himself against all that is called God" and who must be revealed before the coming of Christ³ may express essentially the same idea as the antichrist of the Elder's usage.

In these references in Thessalonians and the Johannine epistles, we are given glimpses of early Christian apocalyptic teaching which has no exact parallel in the eschatological passages of the Synoptic Gospels and may serve to indicate to us how prevalent must have been the mingling of Jewish eschatological conceptions with the distinctively Christian doctrine of the first century. In this connection it should be remembered that in both cases the notion that

¹ v. 6.² I John iv. 3.³ II Thess. ii. 1-4.

some hostile power must appear before the return of Christ is one in which the readers have previously been instructed. Although the names man of sin and antichrist may not appear in Revelation, the essential eschatology embodied in the terms is there given in a very elaborate form, in the pictures of the awful struggle that is to precede the coming of Jesus and, again, the final judgment.

The contrast between the Elder's conception of the foe whose activity announces the coming consummation and that of John the Seer could hardly be more complete. Instead of the raging dragon or the kings of the earth and their armies with the beast, it is those who are teaching the false doctrine that Jesus Christ cometh not in the flesh whose activity portends the end. This writer holds something of the apocalyptic conception of history, but transformed from material to spiritual terms. He says nothing of the material destruction of the foes of Christ, rather the antichrist is to be overcome by going onward abiding in the teaching of Christ, and by giving no countenance to the false teachers whose activity is at the time the deadly peril of the Church.

How much the writer may have added to this sound teaching when he came and spoke face to face with the elect Lady and her children, we may not know, except as we can gather the tenor of his instruction from the longer, general letter which he sent forth to the churches under his oversight, possibly at a somewhat later date, or from the Gospel in which he gave his fullest interpretation of Jesus. It is questioned whether the Elder of II and III John was also the author of the longer letter, I John, and the Gospel, but the unity of language and thought points toward common authorship for the four writings and certainly toward an origin in the same region, period, and school of thought, if not absolute unity of authorship.

First John lacks both greeting and farewell, so that its

form is that of a sermon, almost a meditation, rather than a genuine letter; yet the author's repeated statement: I write unto you, indicates that it is not the transcription of a sermon; and such statements as: I have not written unto you because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it⁴ and: These things have I written unto you concerning them that would lead you astray,⁵ clearly indicate that the writing is designed for Christian readers who are in danger from false teaching, so that the document may be regarded as a general epistle, presumably an encyclical designed for the churches under the special oversight of the writer, with the conditions of which he was familiar.

When we come to seek specifically for these conditions, we find them the same as those indicated in II John, the activity among the churches of teachers who deny that Jesus is the Christ⁶ and do not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh.⁷ Apparently these teachers who would lead them astray and their dupes in the churches are making a claim to freedom from sin and to full knowledge of God, while at the same time they are not walking as Jesus walked and keeping his commandments of love.⁸

There is an absence of such specific charges as are made in some of the letters to the seven churches,⁹ written perhaps a decade earlier, of eating things offered to idols and of fornication, but it is clear that the standards of Christ-like conduct in contrast to the lust of the flesh and the vainglory of life are contravened by the false teachers who, at the close of the century, are leading the Church astray.¹⁰

It is not in the temper of this writer to enumerate the moral vices and virtues as Paul or the author of Hebrews would have done under similar circumstances. To him the general standard of walking as Christ walked and keeping his inclusive commandment of love is sufficient. Possibly,

⁴ ii. 21.⁵ ii. 26.⁶ ii. 22.⁷ iv. 2.⁸ i. 8, ii. 4-11, etc.⁹ Rev. ii-iii.¹⁰ ii. 15-16

if he had been writing, as Paul was fifty years earlier, to recent converts who did not know the truth and had no adequate knowledge as to how Christ had walked, he would have found it necessary to be more detailed in his moral instruction. He is writing to fathers who know him who is from the beginning, to young men who have overcome the evil one, to little children who know the Father. They are not recent converts from paganism, ignorant of the requirements of Christian morality; very probably they are familiar with the narrative of the life and teaching of Jesus as recorded in one or more of the Gospels.

Still they are exposed to a subtle danger which may wholly undermine the influences of the long years of instruction and practice in Christian living. It is a danger the beginnings of which we have seen as early as the time of Paul's letters to the churches of the same region as that included within the special view of I John. In Colossians and Ephesians, Paul had found it necessary to write of the mystery of God, Christ in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden, lest someone might delude them with persuasiveness of speech, and to warn them against anyone who would make spoil of them through his philosophy.¹¹ He knew full well the danger to Christianity that was inherent in the mystery religions with their claims of superior knowledge.

When the Epistles of John were written the danger had taken further form in the direction of Gnosticism (knowingism) and was even approaching that particular phase of Gnosticism called Docetism (seemingism) according to which the body of Jesus was not a physical reality but only an appearance. Underlying these conceptions is the notion, so contrary to all Old Testament ideas, that the physical world is in itself evil and that the Supreme Being, who is purest Light, cannot come into contact with matter.

¹¹ Col. ii. 2-4, 8, Eph. iii. 3-5.

First John opens with the assertion that through the senses of hearing, sight, and touch, the writer had known the very Logos of life, the eternal life which was with the Father. Confession that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is the test by which spirits may be proven to be of God. The false prophets, filled with the spirit of antichrist, deny that he has come in the flesh. The author agrees with the Gnostic doctrine that God is light¹² and recognizes that no man hath beheld him at any time,¹³ but this does not lead him to the further conclusion of the Gnostics that the Messiah could not, in his earthly sojourn, be the historical, flesh and blood Jesus whom he had known face to face and in whose cleansing blood he trusted. While he fully recognized that the love of the world was incompatible with the love of God, he did not find physical matter so contaminating that the Son of God could not come in the flesh.

In this epistle we see the Christian religion taking up into itself some of the fruits of Greek philosophical thought; but, through its firm hold on the historical Jesus, eliminating that which is inconsistent with the wholesome Biblical view that regarded the earth as the Lord's and the fullness thereof. Lacking the revelation of God in Jesus the Christ, Philo was more completely at the mercy of the Greek philosophers, so that his God was depersonalized. Our author is able to adopt the conception of God as light, without making him simply an abstract idea; this is made possible by the true light which has shone in Jesus. Humanity is brought into the circle of that light through the power of that love which was manifest in Jesus the Son. Those who claimed esoteric knowledge thought themselves in the light, but, hating their brothers, they were really in the darkness.¹⁴ Those who walk in the light as he is in the light have fellowship with one another.¹⁵ The life that

¹² i. 5.¹³ iv. 12.¹⁴ ii. 9.¹⁵ i. 7.

was with the Father, manifested in love, makes fellowship with the Father and with one another possible. Such fellowship is walking in the true light. Knowledge of these things is true knowledge. To claim knowledge and not to keep his commandment of love is to be without the indwelling truth.

In our study of I Corinthians we were impressed with the fact that some of Paul's most beautiful words were occasioned by the wretched self-seeking and moral corruption of his Corinthian converts. A half century later, we find the writer of I John returning to the Pauline emphasis on love as the supreme virtue, to meet the new need of the new day and, in doing so, showing the power of the love revealed in Jesus to solve the problems involved in philosophical adjustment in an atmosphere of pagan thought, as well as in the practical adjustment of the moral life of those who, like the Corinthians, are living in the midst of pagan moral conditions.

The kinship of the author of I John with Paul is very close in those elements of his thought which we have been considering. Other phases of the Pauline teaching and thought are notably lacking. Only once in the Johannean epistles do we meet the noun "faith" which occurs so constantly in all the Pauline writings. In the one instance where it does occur it is equated with the intellectual belief that Jesus is the son of God; this is the faith (belief) that overcomes the world.¹⁶ Paul speaks of faith, at times, in the same sense, but we have seen that his use of the term includes, at other times, far more than the intellectual attitude of belief.

Apparently this writer has not apprehended Paul's larger conception of faith. He has not distorted it, like those against whom the author of James inveighs, but, like the writer of Hebrews, he has laid the emphasis of his

¹⁶ v. 4-5.

thought upon the intellectual side of faith rather than upon the moral aspects which make the Pauline use of the word at times almost equivalent to "loyalty." On the other hand, the writer has nothing of that aspect of faith emphasized in Hebrews as the power by which the unseen is apprehended and realized. He is combatting certain dangerous intellectual speculations and, in doing so, is concerned chiefly with the necessity of belief in certain facts attested by sense-experience.

When we read the much more complete presentation of his thought in the Fourth Gospel, we find that he is still concerned to establish an intellectual belief; yet we feel that, although he may not have made all the richness of Paul's doctrine of salvation by faith his own, he would have no criticism to offer of Paul's conception of faith working through love. He cannot conceive of one believing in Jesus as the Christ and not walking as he walked, not fulfilling his great commandment of love.

Another of the most prominent aspects of Paul's thought that is absent in these little epistles is the emphasis upon the resurrection of Jesus; like the author of Hebrews, the writer emphasizes the sacrificial death. He clearly believes that Jesus had been raised, for he thinks of him as the present Advocate with the Father; but he has nothing of the Pauline and Petrine emphasis on the resurrection experience as such. Perhaps it was not called for by the particular circumstances to which he was addressing himself; perhaps it formed no constant part of his own Christian thinking. His conception of life eternal as something already shared by those who have the Son¹⁷ might lead to a subordination even of the resurrection of Jesus to other aspects of his significance. To this interpreter, Jesus is the word spoken to us by God, who cannot himself be seen, but has made himself known through Jesus. Thus

¹⁷ v. 12.

he has made possible the life of perfect fellowship between himself as Father, Jesus Christ as Son, ourselves, and our fellowmen. Such association, sympathy, unity is eternal life. The Son brings us into eternal life when we walk in the light that shines in his incarnate life.

The meditative style of I John, with that of the Fourth Gospel, gives it an individuality no less marked than that of its thought. The manner of the writer is as different from the logical arrangement of Hebrews or the fiery debate of Paul's doctrinal epistles as can well be imagined. In the Christological epistles of the imprisonment, we approach more nearly to the form of I John, as also to the thought; but even on grounds of style alone, it would not be easy to regard Colossians or Ephesians as written by this author who turns a thought over, states it backward and forward, seems almost to drift into another stream of thought, and then returns to the earlier one. It should not be suggested that this lack of logical order and definitely progressive reasoning deprives the writing either of beauty or depth. At times there is a lyric quality: Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us—it almost sings itself. Always there is the insight of the true poet of the spiritual life. The picture of God as light in which his children may walk without fear of stumbling, and of man's hatred as enshrouding him in pathless darkness is one of supreme beauty and truth.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

It must have required courage and a strong sense of personal authority for the writer of the Fourth Gospel completely to abandon the Petrine-Marcian outline, already followed by the authors of Matthew and Luke, and we know not by how many more of the writers who had taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning all that Jesus began both to do and to teach. It is not through any lack of acquaintance with that outline that this writer deviates from it; at certain points he comes into parallelism with it; sometimes he quietly corrects certain details of the earlier Gospels; but for the most part he gives other material selected to emphasize the facts and ideas which he desires to impress upon the Christians of the province of Asia in his time.

No fewer than thirteen points of contact with the Synoptic narrative may be readily noted: (1) Baptism,¹ (2) Cleansing Temple,² (3) Going to Galilee,³ (4) Feeding the five thousand,⁴ (5) Walking on the sea,⁵ (6) Anointing in Bethany,⁶ (7) Triumphal entry,⁷ (8) Announcement of betrayer,⁸ (9) Foretelling Peter's denial,⁹ (10) Arrest in Garden,¹⁰ (11) Trial and denial,¹¹ (12) Crucifixion and burial,¹² (13) Resurrection.¹³

¹ i. 29-34.

² ii. 13-22.

³ iv. 43-4.

⁴ vi. 1-15.

⁵ vi. 16-21.

⁶ xii. 1-8.

⁷ xii. 12-18.

⁸ xiii. 21-30.

⁹ xiii. 36-8.

¹⁰ xviii. 1-14.

¹¹ xviii. 15-xix. 15.

¹² xix. 17-42.

¹³ xx-xxi.

The most notable deliberate changes from the Synoptic record are: the placing of the cleansing of the Temple at the beginning instead of the close of the public ministry; and the dating of the last supper on the fourteenth of Nisan (the night before the Passover) instead of the fifteenth of Nisan (making it the Passover meal).

In contrast, the miraculous feeding and walking on the sea occur in the same order as in the Synoptics and the general order of the events of the last week is similar to that of the Synoptic account, with the exception of the time of the anointing in Bethany. In the resurrection appearances, which vary so in the other Gospels, John like Luke records Jerusalem appearances, but the appended chapter (xxi) adds a Galilean manifestation.

It is, however, the additional material rather than any changes in the parallel incidents, that makes the Johannine outline in its chronology and geography so widely different from the Petrine-Markan. Instead of the simple outline: the baptism and wilderness temptation, followed by a northern ministry, journey through Peræa to Jerusalem, last week, and resurrection, we have the testimony of the Baptist followed by the call of the first disciples beyond the Jordan,¹⁴ a return to Galilee, and a ministry in Jerusalem at the Passover season,¹⁵ all of which seems to precede the northern ministry of the Synoptic account.

There follow a journey through Samaria to Galilee and a healing in Capernaum;¹⁶ Gospel Harmonies equate this with the opening of the public ministry as recorded in the Synoptists. Only a single healing at Capernaum is recounted, and Jesus is back in Jerusalem at the time of some feast.¹⁷ The next chapter takes us again to the north and tells of the feeding of the five thousand and walking on the sea. The feeding is dated as near the time of the Passover,

¹⁴ i. 19-51.¹⁵ ii-iii.¹⁶ iv.¹⁷ v.

which agrees with the general time of the year indicated by the "much green grass" of Mark.

After the miraculous feeding, the discourse on the bread of life leads many to turn away from Jesus. In this there is a certain parallelism with the other outline in which the wonders of the feeding and walking are followed by cavilling and loss of popular favor. Instead, however, of the withdrawal to the regions of Phœnicia and Cæsarea Philippi, indicated in Mark and Matthew, there is a general statement that after these things Jesus walked in Galilee; then he goes up to Jerusalem for the autumn feast of Tabernacles, six months after the Passover.¹⁸ He is in Jerusalem also at the December feast of Dedication.¹⁹ He withdraws across the Jordan, but is recalled to Judæa by the death of Lazarus. The hostility of the priests and Pharisees leads to his retirement to the borders of the wilderness, where he remains until the approach of the Passover.²⁰

The remainder of the book, almost one half of the whole, is concerned with the last week and the resurrection appearances.

One who would write a chronological account of Jesus' life and ministry, must determine whether he will make the Johannine or the Petrine-Marcian outline the basis of his narrative. Those who are concerned with the Gospels simply as a part of New Testament literature are not required to pass judgment upon the vexed question. Yet it may not be wholly foreign to the subject of the present volume to suggest that, although John does not give the impression of an account that is concerned very much with a chronological record of events, it does indicate that Jesus had taught in Jerusalem before the last week of his ministry and that his public activity covered a longer period than the time of only a little more than one year which

¹⁸ vii-x. 21.¹⁹ x. 22-39.²⁰ xi.

some infer from the Marcan account. This conclusion may be supported from the Synoptic narratives themselves.

We have seen reason to believe that the "order" in which Luke proposed to write was not exclusively a chronological order, and that Matthew deliberately took material from different parts of his sources and grouped topically, although they both followed in the main the order of their common narrative source and, to some extent, the order of their common discourse source also. The tradition of the composition of Mark from memories of Peter's preaching, received by Papias from the Elder, does not suggest that its succession of events would be strictly chronological, and Papias himself preferred some other order than that of our earliest Gospel; while he defends the accuracy and fullness of Mark's report of Peter's preaching, he distinctly says that the interpreter did not relate the sayings or deeds of Christ in exact order.

The internal evidence of all four Gospels and the earliest tradition unite to leave the modern biographer of Jesus quite free to arrange the narratives of the public ministry in such sequence as he can derive from a comparison of all four Gospels, with the use of his own critical judgment as to the probable succession of events.

We have seen that Matthew was composed with the definite purpose of presenting Jesus as the true Jewish Messiah, fulfilling both prophecy and law. This is an obvious induction from the contents of the book. At the close of the main body of the Gospel of John, the purpose of the book is definitely stated.²¹ According to this passage the writing was designed to present some of the many "signs" leading to the life-giving belief that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.

No such statement, however, can cover the entire purpose of the book. An examination of the discourses ascribed to

²¹ *xx.* 30-31.

Jesus shows first importance given to belief based, not on mighty works, but upon the direct impression of Jesus' personality—Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father in me, but if not, believe for the very works' sake.²² Such an appeal as this is in harmony with the Synoptic condemnation of the generation that sought a sign,²³ and with Jesus' deliberate rejection of the temptation to win recognition through spectacular miracle.²⁴

There seem to be, in fact, two types of thought struggling in this Gospel, the one laying emphasis on belief based on Jesus' deeds interpreted as signs of his Divinity, the other emphasizing the Divinity of his character and personality, independent of the attestation of mighty works. So marked is the difference that it has been used as a basis for attempted analysis of the Gospel into different sources, or for discrimination between the thought of a supposed penman and an original, apostolic witness. Principal Garvie in his recent volume assigns the statement of xx. 30-31 to the actual writer, whom he calls the Evangelist and distinguishes from a Jerusalem disciple, the Witness, to whom he assigns the main substance of the tradition.²⁵

If we have in this book the substance of the teaching of a primitive disciple of Jesus, committed to writing by some follower of the disciple, the emphasis upon miracles and the fulfillment of prediction summed up in xii. 36-43 and xx. 30-31 may be due to the writer, who has failed fully to apprehend the significance of Jesus' own message preserved by the witness. Yet it is perfectly possible for two or more types of thought and interpretation to be present in the same mind, especially if the thinker has reached mature years holding one type of thought and has accepted new truth too late for it fully to reorganize his

²² xiv. 11.

²³ Mt. xii. 39, xvi. 4, Lk. xi. 29.

²⁴ Mt. iv. 5-7, Lk. iv. 9-12.

²⁵ A. E. Garvie, *The Beloved Disciple*, pp. xiv, 191.

earlier modes of thinking. Recognizing this possibility of the human mind, we incline to feel with Dr. Scott that different types of Christian belief have appealed to different sides of the religious nature of one gifted with a unique religious temperament, one whose thinking, even more than that of Paul, is bound up with his personal temperament and experience.²⁶ In saying this it is not necessary to question the probability that the message of an early disciple who thought in Aramaic, rather than Greek, was committed to writing in comparatively smooth Greek by a loyal follower standing in much the same relation to the witness as Mark to Peter; but attempts to go very far in discriminating sources or the expressions of different minds in the book as a whole are precarious.

It is a curious structural fact of this Gospel that it starts out to frame its story on the basis of an orderly succession of mighty works called "signs," but that this framework is soon abandoned.—This beginning of signs (King James Version, "miracles") did Jesus.²⁷ This is again the second sign that Jesus did;²⁸ but when we look for the numeration of the third and fourth, the framework is no longer in evidence.

A larger unity is given by the reiterated expression of certain great conceptions of the significance of Christ's incarnation. It is sometimes felt that, because the formal expression of the Logos doctrine disappears after the first eighteen verses of the book, the prologue has no real connection with the whole. We do feel that in calling Jesus the Logos (Word or Thought of God), the writer has borrowed a technical term foreign to his usual vocabulary and, to some extent, to his usual mode of thought, much as a religious teacher today might seek a point of contact with

²⁶ E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel, Its Purpose and Theology*, pp. 14ff.

²⁷ ii. 11.

²⁸ iv. 54.

the thought of the time by adopting the notion of Evolution to express some aspect of his religious thinking, although he might not often have occasion to use the term. The evangelist, writing in the philosophical environment of the province of Asia, adopts the term Logos in the effort to express in current vernacular something of the truth that he had found in the historical Jesus, who by becoming flesh had spoken God's thought to men.

The incarnation of the Logos would have been as foreign to the Alexandrian Jew Philo as to any Hellenic thinker, but that is the central, dominant idea in the main stream of thought of our Gospel—the Logos become flesh and tarrying for a little time with men.

Paul had conceived Christ Jesus as pre-existent, sharing the essential nature of God, a doctrine which not even Matthew and Luke with their narratives of miraculous birth suggest. The Fourth Gospel begins with this "Pauline incarnation doctrine formulated under the Stoic Logos theory."²⁹ Although the term Logos is quickly dropped, the conception of Christ as the Son, as the very nature of God made manifest to human perception, as the Divine Light shining in darkness, continues to appear throughout the book. His appearance on earth results in the sifting out of men. "After the wonder has spent itself, the two classes of children of light and children of darkness begin to emerge definitely." This separation of men by their attitude to the light has been called "the governing motive of the book."

The succession of scenes and incidents with their notes of time and place give the impression of movement and progress; yet the style is much like that of the First Epistle, meditative, with one thought coming to the surface,

²⁹ See B. W. Bacon, *Making of the New Testament*, pp. 231-2; also *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, pp. 4-8; 281-2; 534-5.

succeeded by another and another, and itself again appearing and reappearing. The attempts that have been made to find some conscious, orderly structure shaped by the great thoughts of the writer have proved as unsatisfactory as the attempts to analyze into different strands from various sources. Between chapter i, which gives the Logos Prologue and certain introductory events, and chapters xviii-xx, xxi, containing the history of the passion and resurrection manifestations, we have a series of incidents and scenes serving as the settings of long discourses which unfold certain great thoughts. Here, more than in any of the other Gospels, the literary form resembles that of Plato's *Dialogues* or Xenophon's *Memorabilia*.

Already in the Prologue, scarcely three hundred words in length, appear, in addition to the thought of the creative, pre-existent Logos made flesh, many of the characteristic words and ideas about which the later discourses center: In him was life; the life was the light of men; the light shone in the darkness, but the darkness did not apprehend; John came to bear witness; the true light lighteth every man; his own received him not; to those who received him, he gave right of sonship, even to those who believe, who are born of God; of his fullness we all received, grace succeeding grace; the law was given through Moses, grace and truth came through Jesus Christ; the only begotten Son has showed the unseen God.

In rapid succession and prodigal profusion, like a little chest of sparkling jewels poured out before us, we have here many of the illumining ideas of the Gospel and Epistles of John. The thought of the Father and the Son recurs in many different passages and aspects, as also those of light, life, truth, of Christ as the revealer of God, and of the contrast between reception and rejection. To this rich array will be added in the succeeding chapters of the Gospel which unfold the significance of the contrast between re-

ception and rejection, the profound Johannine doctrines of eternal life as a present life and of judgment as accomplished when the light shines and men follow or turn away.

These two correlative ideas stand in sharpest contrast to the conceptions of the Apocalypse and of very much of the Synoptic Gospels. Here the rewards and penalties are not conceived in any slightest sense as something imposed by external authority, but as inherent in the nature of life. Christ is a manifestation of what God is; Sonship is not physical, nor exactly metaphysical, but perfect unity of understanding and purpose, likemindedness. Those who share this comprehending spirit come into the same fellowship, they too are sons. Such fellowship *is* eternal life, not shall be.³⁰

The "kingdom," so prominent in the Synoptic Gospels, is almost completely absent from the vocabulary of John. In its place we have the family, the Father, elder Son, and younger children, all living in sympathetic fellowship.³¹ The necessary correlative of this thought of eternal life as already entered upon when one accepts the light shining in Christ as the light of life, is the thought of judgment as already accomplished when one turns away from this light and loves darkness instead.³²

These are as inevitable laws of life as those we were considering in the Matthæan Logia. In daily experience, they prove true in every phase of the life of the spirit. The youth who enters college where every field of intellectual interest—scientific, mathematical, philosophical, historical, social, economic, political, literary, all that men have thought and discovered and dreamed, is opened before him, and who finds nothing in it all that quickens his pulse

³⁰ iii. 36, v. 24, vi. 47, xvii. 2-3.

³¹ xiv. 21; xv. 8-10; xvi. 27; xvii. 21; xx. 17, 21.

³² iii. 18-19; v. 24.

and prompts to spontaneous effort, has been judged already. And this is the judgment, the light of the life intellectual has come into his world and he loved darkness rather than the light. The reverse is equally true, that he who opens his eyes to the light and eagerly follows its guidance into the mysteries of nature or up toward the heights of man's best thought and achievement has already entered the life intellectual though his own achievements may as yet be slight.

The same law of life may be tested no less definitely in the field of æsthetic culture. When the beauty of hill and valley or the majesty of mountain and sea are opened to the gaze, or the joys of noble music and art are offered, with the guidance it may be of true interpreter to lead the novice, and to none of these is there any answering thrill or sense of peace inspired in the soul, the judgment is already passed, the refined and refining pleasures of the æsthetic life are not open to such an one. When self-sacrificing love is seen and it is attributed only to some selfish, evil motive, the judgment is passed; the joy of service cannot be known by such an one. A shriveled life is his destiny, unless he is born anew. Those who follow truth, justice, and mercy have passed out of moral death into moral life. Those who recognize in the life of supreme love, even the love that is ready to lay down life itself, God manifest in the flesh have passed out of death into life, the life abundant,³³ the life eternal.³⁴

How is one to know the light from the darkness, the true from the false, in the realm of the spirit where the data of sense-perception are lacking? Here our Gospel knows that the will comes in to play its part: If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it is of God or I speak from myself.³⁵ It might be translated, "if any man wishes to do his will," or "is willing to

³³ x. 10.³⁴ xvii. 3.³⁵ vii. 17.

do;" any one of these translations brings out the force of the original more fully than that of the King James Version which is simply "will do his will." Even in the intellectual life the truth is really known by the one who performs for himself the experiment or makes the calculation or the induction. In the moral and religious life it is equally true that only by the will to do can we gain the experience which certifies the truth.

If at times, the Fourth Gospel seems to count a mere intellectual assent to the affirmation that Jesus is the Son of God as the means of personal salvation, that is at most only a part of its thought. Real belief has its moral basis, we find, in the good will; it is not a matter of abstract intellect, but of the response of the whole spiritual nature, in its aspects of intellect, feeling, and will, to the revelation of the Father through the Son.

The recognition of the fact that destiny is determined by the response that the human soul makes to the Divine Spirit seems at the farthest remove from the conception of predestination, to which Paul was driven in his effort to account for the failure of the Jews to enter into their heritage,³⁶ unless we adopt a purely mechanistic view of life which makes every response predetermined.

Certainly in this dominant thought of John the determination of fate is viewed from a very different angle from that which Paul adopts when faced by the problem of the great refusal of the gift of God on the part of his own people. Even in that instance, however, Paul believed that grace would ultimately triumph and the severed branches would be regrafted on the parent stem. In his conception, too, the faith that saved was a self-directed act of loyal devotion in gratitude and love. John makes very clear in some passages the part that love responding

³⁶ Rom. ix-xi.

to love and will determining to action play in the faith which he calls belief.

Viewing his writing as a whole, we conclude that it is no mere intellectual acknowledgment of certain doctrines about Jesus which he counts a saving belief on him: A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you that ye also love one another. He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him and manifest myself unto him.³⁷ Obedience, love, desire to do the will of God are necessary elements of belief in Jesus as the Christ.

We do not find in the Gospel such definite indications of the prevalence of denial that the human Jesus was the Christ as in I and II John, yet the whole book is an argument to prove that the one who had been known in the flesh as Jesus was the Messiah, the Son of God, a belief through which life comes. We must not, it appears, interpret this writer's conception of belief too narrowly; perhaps we have suggested too narrow a connotation for his conception of "signs." In stating the purpose of the book,³⁸ he may have had in mind more than the miracles recorded when he spoke of the recorded signs that lead to the life-giving belief in Jesus. If signs in this verse is used only in the sense of miraculous works such as turning water into wine or performing a healing at a distance, it is a very different conception than that of the deep truths of life which we have been considering. A tendency to give an allegorical interpretation to words and deeds is characteristic of the book. Taking this fact together with the curious usage of the writer who speaks of "doing the truth,"³⁹ we may infer that, when he speaks of Jesus as doing signs, he has in mind all the deeds that he has recorded in the preceding chapters and possibly even the

³⁷ xiii. 34, xiv, 21.

³⁸ xx. 30.

³⁹ iii. 21, I John i. 6.

words of Jesus viewed as signs (marks, tokens) of his Messiahship.

In view of the fact that the Apocalypse, Gospel, and Epistles of John all come from the same general environment and that typical phrases and ideas indicate what might be called the same school of thought, it is passing strange that the apocalyptic expectations which we find in Paul, in all three Synoptic Gospels, in James, and in Revelation, are almost completely absent from the Gospel and Epistles of John. The allusions to the coming of Christ in I John ii. 28 and in the appendix of the Gospel,⁴⁰ and to a judgment when all that are in the tombs shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of judgment⁴¹ show that current eschatological speculations are not wholly abandoned in the light of the writer's more spiritual interpretation of the present and future. That more spiritual interpretation has, however, almost completely obliterated from his writing any suggestion of a literal, visible, second coming and of a literal future judgment. For those to whom the light of Christ's presence has come, we have seen, the judgment is here and now and entrance upon the life eternal is a present fact.

According to this Gospel, instead of his visible presence, Jesus promises the continuance of his work through the Comforter (Advocate, Helper), the Spirit of Truth who will guide into all truth.⁴² This Comforter, Spirit of Truth, Holy Spirit, as he is variously called, will continue Christ's work of present judgment, convicting the world in respect of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment.⁴³ The sin of which he convicts is the same as that committed when Christ was on earth, rejection of him. The Spirit's mission is so significant that Jesus declared it expedient that

⁴⁰ xxi. 22.

⁴¹ v. 28-9.

⁴² xvi. 13.

⁴³ xvi. 7-8.

he himself should go away in order that the Spirit may come.

The Fourth Gospel was written after the fall of Jerusalem, of which Jesus had forewarned, when the hope of his immediate return on the clouds was disappointed; and it was even after the persecution of Domitian when the renewed expectation of a great, cataclysmic change was again disappointed. In it we see how one who had come to know Jesus in the Spirit had adjusted himself to the frustration of the hopes of the early disciples and had learned to realize that the work of the Spirit, comforting, convicting, bringing to remembrance, guiding into all truth, was even more advantageous than the continued earthly presence of Jesus.

Paul had trusted his life to the guidance of this Spirit, Luke had interpreted the whole course of the Gospel's spread from Jerusalem to Rome as the continuance of Jesus' work and teaching through the power of the Spirit, and now this spiritual Gospel, the supreme and final interpretation of the meaning of Jesus as the Christ, bears its witness to the power of the Spirit. Paul had not in his earlier ministry freed himself very fully from his heritage of Jewish eschatology. The practical James held the belief that the coming of the Lord was at hand and used it as an encouragement to a steadfast life;⁴⁴ but it played small part in his epistle, which was chiefly concerned with the homely duties of life as it is. Luke, despite his wonderful appreciation of the power and guidance of the Spirit in the spread of the Gospel, had retained in his earlier volume the expectation which he found in his Marcan source that the Son of Man would appear in a cloud and great glory soon after the siege of Jerusalem. It remained for the writer of the Fourth Gospel to substitute for these Old Jewish symbols which had entered so

⁴⁴ Jas. v. 7-8.

largely into early Christian thought, faith in the work of the Spirit.

Who is the man of supreme insight whose profound religious experience is crystallized for us in the words of the Fourth Gospel? It matters little whether he is the actual penman; in any case it is his experience of the Christ and of the guiding Spirit that is preserved for us whether he wrote the words himself or they were committed to the sacred page by a loyal follower. It is generally inferred that the one to whom in the last analysis we owe this great interpretation of life in its highest reaches is that disciple of Jesus who is often mentioned in the book but never by name; he is alluded to as "another disciple,"⁴⁵ or more specifically as "the disciple whom Jesus loved."⁴⁶ It was he who reclined in Jesus' bosom at the last supper, who was known unto the high priest and so secured the admission of Peter into his court, to whose care Jesus committed his mother, who came first to the tomb when Mary Magdalene had reported it empty, and whose tarrying till Jesus should come was anticipated.

That the author was a Palestinian Jewish Christian and that he felt competent to correct the Synoptic narrative is clear. That he might well have been in a peculiar degree the disciple whom Jesus loved, we can readily believe. It has been suggested that it would hardly have been modest for him to designate himself in this way; yet it is very difficult to see why his name should have been so carefully avoided unless he was in some sense the author. If his thoughts were finally committed to writing in their present form by some follower, the objection falls. Quite possibly the original disciple composed written memorabilia in his native Aramaic; that would account for the very strong evidence of a Semitic original underlying certain phrases of the Greek Gospel.

⁴⁵ xviii. 15.

⁴⁶ xiii. 23; xix. 26-7; xx. 2; xxi. 20.

The evidence which leads to the conclusion that he was a Palestinian makes it difficult to believe that he was a Galilean. It is with Judæa that he seems especially familiar; of Galilean scenes we hear very little. Unless the author was the unnamed disciple of John the Baptist and companion of Andrew mentioned in i. 35-40, he does not appear in the narrative until the closing days of the ministry and, even if he was that one, he never appears in connection with Galilee. In Jerusalem he is so much at home that he is known to the high priest to whose court he can obtain entrance for Peter.⁴⁷ Apparently his home is there, for when Jesus on the cross committed his mother to the care of this disciple, he took her to his own home,⁴⁸ and Mary was in Jerusalem weeks later.⁴⁹

It has been conjectured that this beloved disciple was one of the great company of the priests who were obedient to the faith;⁵⁰ Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus about 190 A.D., said that the author of this Gospel was born a priest, and already in chapter xii. 42 of the Gospel it is said that many of the rulers believed on Jesus but because of the Pharisees did not confess. Putting such facts together with the statement that he was known, or it is maintained the word may be translated "related" to the high priest, the conjecture has some plausibility.⁵¹

We may feel very certain that the ultimate source of the Fourth Gospel was some disciple who came into pecu-

⁴⁷ xviii. 15. ⁴⁸ xix. 27. ⁴⁹ Acts i. 14. ⁵⁰ Acts vi. 7.

⁵¹ In briefly summarizing the arguments for the view that the author was a Jerusalem disciple of priestly family, I have noted especially the points made by Dr. S. A. Fries in his monograph published in Stockholm, 1898. So far as I am aware no translation of this discussion, from the Swedish, has appeared; I am indebted to Rev. J. E. Almfeldt, A.M., for a full and careful outline of its main points. Von Soden argues for a Jerusalem disciple and, more recently, Garvie in his volume on *The Beloved Disciple* adopts a similar view.

liarly close and sympathetic relationship with Jesus during his earthly ministry, saw the significance of some of his teaching as the authors of the Logia and Synoptic Gospels did not, lived till the latter part of the century knowing the fellowship and guidance of the promised Spirit, and tested in the laboratory of life the validity of the revelation he had early received.

If, as tradition since Irenæus has it, this disciple was John the son of Zebedee, the Son of Thunder, who anticipated literal thrones and shared his brother's ambition for personal preferment in the coming kingdom, his outlook and temperament were completely transformed by the experiences and meditation of the long decades. If he was a Jerusalem disciple, possibly, as has been suggested, the one at whose house the last supper was eaten, his remembrances of the Jerusalem ministry with which the Gospel chiefly deals are equally authoritative with those of one of the Twelve. In either case, we may suppose him to have borne the name John, and we may know him as one who had an insight into some aspects of the meaning of Jesus which was not given to Peter, and to which even Paul did not attain.

In addition to his early experience with Jesus this evangelist knew the Gospel of Mark and probably the other Synoptics also, was familiar with some of the loftiest thought of Paul as we know it in Romans, I Corinthians, and Ephesians, and probably with I Peter too.⁵²

In the Master whom he had known in youth were combined in supreme degree qualities which, in a merely human personality, seem mutually exclusive. Possibly more than any other disciple the author of the Gospel and Epistles of John was like Jesus in this respect. It has been said of him: "The author is a strange combination of opposites.

⁵² See H. von Soden, *Urchristliche Literaturgeschichte*, p. 212; Eng. Trans., p. 424.

His usual course of calm thought is often disturbed by flashes of strong feeling; his deep mysticism is balanced by a strong ethical bent according to which he would sometimes define Christianity as simply the fulfillment of the law of Love.⁵³

⁵³ Von Soden, *op. cit.*, p. 212, Eng. Trans., pp. 424-5.

CHAPTER XXIX

LATE MINOR EPISTLES: THE PASTORALS JUDE, AND II PETER

The two epistles addressed to Timothy and the one to Titus, commonly known as the Pastorals, are chiefly concerned with instructions for pastoral service. We have already adopted the prevalent view that their great differences in language, style, thought, and historical situation from the genuine epistles of Paul show them to be by some other hand, and that the organization of the churches indicated implies a date not earlier than the last decade of the first century.¹ In Chapter XV, we treated certain passages of II Timothy as belonging originally to a genuine letter of Paul to Timothy, written near the close of the two years of Roman imprisonment. It is probable that we have in this same epistle other genuine Pauline material, perhaps from a letter written to Timothy after Paul had passed through Troas to Macedonia at the close of his long Ephesus mission. In Titus, also, there are bits that seem genuinely Pauline, but it is here more difficult than in II Timothy to mark out the limits of a letter of Paul to Titus which has formed the basis of a later composition. I Timothy affords some evidence of the use of *disjecta membra* in its composition, but lacks connected passages that sound like Paul. It was probably written later than II Timothy and Titus as a fuller presentation of the views of the writer who worked over

¹Chapter XXV.

Pauline fragments into the form of our II Timothy and Titus.

While the differences of language alone are such as might preclude belief in Paul's authorship, these writings are yet sprinkled with phrases and echoes that have been traced to all ten of his epistles.² The writer evidently knew these and believed them to be the genuine writings of Paul, so that even where he did not have connected passages of genuine letters from the Apostle to Timothy or Titus, he could think of himself as applying the Apostle's words and thoughts to the conditions and needs of his own day.

The fact that Paul's letters sent to communities all the way from Galatia to Rome have become known to the writer of the Pastorals, suggests that he may have been writing even later than the end of the first century. The development of ecclesiastical organization reflected in the letters is also suggestive of a time after the year 100. Viewing the completed epistles as literary products of the closing years of the first century or opening of the second, we find the writer using the now historical sufferings of Paul, the imprisoned soldier of Christ, as ground of appeal to endure hardship as a good soldier wholly devoted to the service of the one who enrolled him. Timothy is charged to hold the pattern of sound words which he had received from Paul and to instruct faithful men who will themselves be able to teach others. Labor will lead to sure fruits; hardship and bonds, death with Christ, will ensure life and glory with him.³

The teaching of such sound doctrine is to be accompanied by warning against vain disputes and certain false doctrines, and also by exhortation to purity, gentleness, and

² For a graphic presentation, see P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, Appendix IV.

³ II Tim. i. 1-ii. 13.

meekness. In the last days all anti-social vices shall break forth even among those who hold a form of godliness. As Paul had suffered at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, all who would live religiously in Christ Jesus must expect to suffer persecution. Continue thou to follow the guidance of the sacred writings, the inspired scripture which is profitable for instruction in righteousness. I solemnly charge you to preach, reprove, rebuke, for the time will come when men will not hear. Be sober, suffer hardship, do the work of an evangelist.⁴ After these exhortations the letter closes with personal data, directions, and greetings.⁵

The writer of II Timothy evidently intends us to understand that Paul is in Rome and near the close of his life.⁶ Where Timothy is supposed to be is not clear, perhaps in Ephesus, since salutation is sent to Prisca and Aquila. When Philippians was written, the Apostle had been hoping to send Timothy to Macedonia; possibly his Aegean trip was extended to Asia.

In Titus, Paul sends greetings to his true child, whom he has left in Crete to set in order things that were wanting and to appoint suitable men as bishops, men who should be able to stop the mouths of false, mercenary teachers. In picturing the evil conditions that must be met, he quotes a Cretan "prophet"; this is supposed to be the early poet and philosopher, Epimenides, quoted also in Paul's speech at Athens.⁷ Titus must himself teach sound doctrine of appropriate moral conduct for the aged, and exhort the younger, showing himself an ensample in deed and word. Bondmen, he is to exhort to honesty and fidelity toward their masters. The grace of God has appeared so that men should live righteously, looking for the blessed hope of the glory and appearing of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ, who gave himself to redeem us and purify unto himself a people zealous of good works.

⁴ ii. 14-iv. 5.⁵ iv. 6-22.⁶ iv. 6.⁷ Titus i.

These things speak and exhort, and reprove with authority; let no man despise thee.⁸

The third chapter continues and expands the moral requirements of the Christian religion in view of God's love and mercy, and in contrast to foolish questions and strifes. Personal messages close this letter also; in these Titus is charged to join Paul at Nicopolis, on the western coast of Epirus, where he intends to winter.

This shorter letter is of more orderly arrangement and connected structure than II Timothy. It gives the impression of being written in view of a real knowledge of conditions in Crete, where Jews are raising troublesome disputes with the Christians, and worthy, competent leaders are needed to meet the situation. The writer has absorbed much of the Pauline consciousness of the vital relation between ethics and religion, but the order of treatment of the two is reversed in comparison with Paul's. Paul sets forth religious truths and then shows their applications to practical conduct. This writer gives his practical exhortations and then appends religious motives.

I Timothy is longer and more discursive than either of the other Pastorals. It represents Timothy as left at Ephesus to guard against false teaching, while Paul goes to Macedonia. Love is set over against would-be teaching of the law which fails to recognize the limitation of the law to the restraint of lawlessness. The writer himself had been guilty of blasphemy and persecution, but had obtained mercy and been saved by Christ; he was himself an example of saving belief. The charge he now commits unto Timothy.⁹

After this rather long exordium, the epistle proceeds to regulations for public prayer and for the offices of bishop and deacon.¹⁰ But, however great the care shown for the order of the Church, in the later times there will

⁸ ii.

⁹ I Tim. i.

¹⁰ iii-iv.

come heresies such as ascetic teachings. Timothy must be an ensample in word and manner of life. He must let no man despise his youth, but must exhort all, old and young, men and women, in a fitting manner, seeing to it that provision is made for true, aged widows, by their kindred or by the Church if their own are not able, and that the elders rule well and are protected from slander. He must rebuke sinners, showing no partiality. Bond servants are to honor and serve their masters.¹¹ Any man who consents not to the sound doctrine of the words of Christ is puffed up, sick over disputes of words, supposing piety a means of gain. The pursuit of riches leads to all kinds of evil. Flee these things and follow after righteousness. Charge the rich not to trust in their wealth, but in God, and to be rich in good works. Do thou, Timothy, guard that which is committed to thee.¹²

The Pastoral Epistles reveal a time when the Church is beset with many disputes over unprofitable differences, and men are trying to make personal gain by their legalistic, ascetic, or dialectic teachings which the writer counts mere disputes over words. For him, sound doctrine consists in the moral principles and rules of Jesus, supported by faith in God's love and grace and in Christ the Savior. He hopes to combat the existing evils through worthy Church officers, men of character and ability; but he holds to some sort of eschatological doctrine of the later days, when in spite of every effort, evils will burst forth in uncontrollable force.

Whether he counts these later days as already at hand when he writes, is not quite clear. He has adopted the literary device of letters written by Paul to two of his younger associates, so that if he is thinking of the evils of his own day as belonging to the later time, he is forced to picture them as future to the assumed time of writing.

¹¹ v. 1-vi. 2.

¹² vi. 3-21.

He has the expectation of a time when God and Christ shall both be manifested; but the imagery and pageantry of the earlier apocalyptic hopes of Paul, the Synoptists, and John the Seer are absent from his pages. Like John the Evangelist, he is probably writing after the disappointment of the apocalyptic expectations following both the destruction of Jerusalem and the Domitianic persecution.

He has no such satisfying, mystic experience of the presence of the Comforter as John the Evangelist. His is a temperament somewhat like that of the author of James, that finds its interest and hope, till Christ returns, satisfied by the thought of a Church seeking homely virtue, prompted and sustained by a simple religious faith. In his time, however, there has come to be a more highly organized Church than James knew, so that his religious universe is more ecclesiastical than that of the earlier preacher of simple virtue. Both are pale reflections of the sources whence they received their inspiration and instruction, James of the Jerusalem *Logia*, the writer of the Pastorals of Paul, whose name he used and words he adopted to meet the needs of Ægean churches in his own day.

It was probably not far from the time when the Pastoral Epistles were written that a Christian teacher calling himself "Jude, a bond-servant of Jesus Christ," turned aside from the undertaking he had in hand, that of writing to certain Christians "concerning our common salvation," to write them instead a short, sharp letter exhorting them to contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints. He had learned that certain men, who turned the grace of God into lasciviousness and denied the Lord Jesus Christ, had come among them. Having only the understanding of the animals, they rail at the higher things of the Christian faith. They are

empty as clouds without water blown by the wind, or fruitless trees. In the Christian love-feasts they are dangerous, hidden reefs, shepherds who feed themselves; they are murmurers and self-seekers. Against the treacherous dangers of these men of carnal nature who speak arrogant words, the epistle is designed to guard the readers. By citing the fate of the fallen angels and of Sodom and Gomorrah, the writer warns of the possibility that Christians may lose their high estate. In these warnings, he assumes his readers' familiarity with the story of the fallen angels as we find it in the book of Enoch,¹³ as well as with the Genesis narrative of Sodom's fate. A little later¹⁴ he specifically quotes Enoch¹⁵ as a prophet.

In condemning the railers, he contrasts their words with those of the archangel Michael who would not bring a charge of blasphemy against the Devil himself, but only said: The Lord rebuke thee. The story to which he here refers was known in the Assumption of Moses written between 7 and 29 A.D. The writer of Jude is evidently very familiar with current Jewish apocalyptic literature and counts it worthy of trust as history and prophecy. His chief confidence rests, however, in the teaching of the Apostles which has been handed down to his generation. As he understands the apostolic teaching, it contained apocalyptic warning of the false and evil men who would appear in the last time, but it also included the love of God and the mercy of Christ unto eternal life.

No fewer than five men named Jude (Judas) are known in apostolic or sub-apostolic times: the traitor Judas Iscariot; the Apostle Judas, son (or brother) of James, commonly identified with Lebbæus or Thaddæus; Judas the Lord's brother, and brother of James;¹⁶ Judas Barsabbas;¹⁷ and Judas, the head of the Jewish Church in the

¹³ xviii. 13ff.¹⁴ v. 14.¹⁵ Enoch i. 9; v. 4.¹⁶ Mt. xiii. 55, Mk. vi. 3.¹⁷ Acts xv. 22.

time of Hadrian.¹⁸ The Jude who writes the epistle is identified as the brother of James¹⁹ and thus apparently as the Lord's brother, although he does not assume that title in the salutation. The contents of the epistle are very commonly felt to be out of accord with such authorship, and the date too late to make it probable. It may be that the phrase "and brother of James" was added to the text by someone who erroneously ascribed the epistle to that Jude, or it may be that it was, according to the common literary practice of the time, a pseudonymous ascription.

It was probably a still later teacher who wrote in the name of Simon Peter, the general epistle known as II Peter. This author was only less distinctly a Paulinist than the writer of the Pastorals. Like that one he was familiar with all, or what he counted "all," of Paul's epistles, and even classed them as Scripture; he knew, too, that they had been wrested from their proper meaning by the ignorant and unsteadfast.²⁰ Doubtless the perversion of Paul's doctrine of liberty underlay much of the error combatted by Jude and by this writer. The dependence upon Jude is very direct, or as some argue, the dependence of Jude upon this epistle. The priority is better accorded to the shorter and more vigorous letter which is practically embodied as the middle section of II Peter.²¹

In this section, some parts of Jude are elaborated or given a different turn. Jude, for example, used Sodom and Gomorrah as an instance of judgment; this writer adds Lot as an example of the deliverance of the godly from temptation, and he gives a more specific picture of the revelling of ungodly men who yet share in the Christian feast and entice inexperienced Christians by their false

¹⁸ Eusebius, Ch. Hist. iv. 5, 3.

²⁰ iii. 15-16.

¹⁹ i. 1.

²¹ ii.

doctrine of liberty. He adds that it were better for those deceived ones not to have known the way of righteousness than, after knowing it, to turn back like a dog to his vomit.

To this central section adapted from Jude is prefixed a somewhat long explanation for writing and a claim of the writer's having been present and having heard the Divine voice at the Transfiguration. A striking thought in this introductory section is that Christians, by God's gift of the things that pertain unto life, are able to become partakers of the Divine nature. The Stoics thought of men as inherently partakers of the Divine nature; this writer says that they may become such in accordance with the promises of God. No other New Testament writer had used this Hellenic phrase that II Peter adopts to express the hope of the Christian.²²

Following the central section, so like Jude, there is added a statement that this is the writer's second epistle to them and an exhortation to remember the words of the prophets and the commandment of the Lord through the Apostles, knowing that in the last days mockers would arise saying: Where is the promise of his coming?

To this sarcastic question that naturally was asked after the repeated disappointments of the Christians' apocalyptic expectations, our epistle replies that the heavens and the earth were made by God's word and by the same word have been reserved for judgment and destruction. The time is in his hand with whom a thousand years are as one day; he is longsuffering, giving time for repentance. But at last, and unexpectedly, the cataclysm will come, and there will be new heavens and a new earth. So live that ye may be found ready.

It is in this last chapter that the real occasion of the epistle is to be found. No doubt the part that is closely parallel with Jude, with its warnings against the boastful

²² See C. Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude, Int. Crit. Com., in loc.*

libertines, applied to the churches known to this writer as it might have applied also to some of the seven churches addressed in Revelation, but the failure of the apocalyptic consummation that had been so long expected was the prime occasion for the writing of II Peter.

The writer seems to be addressing the same Christians as those to whom I Peter was directed, so that this epistle, like I and II Timothy and possibly Jude also, was designed for the Christians of Western Asia Minor, where the Johannine literature also arose. If the author of II Peter was acquainted with the Gospel of John, he had not adopted its doctrine of the guiding Spirit as taking the place of the cataclysmic change of the heavens and earth. He has, however, adjusted himself to the fact that the change may be long in coming, as men measure time, and counts this as a manifestation of the Divine mercy upon sinners.

No New Testament writing makes more definite Apostolic claims for itself than II Peter, and no other is so lacking in the attestation of mention, quotation, or echo, throughout the second century.

None of the epistles considered in the present chapter was predominantly occasioned by external peril, but instead by internal dangers of doctrine and morals. They may all be dated after the death of the persecutor Domitian in 96 A.D., and some of them, especially II Peter, probably belong to the earlier years of the second century.

CHAPTER XXX

THE COMPLETED NEW TESTAMENT

In the preceding chapters we have tried to trace the history of the rise and spread of the Church from about 30 A.D. till the close of the century, and to show how the writings that ultimately came to form the New Testament grew out of the history of the growing Church. Jesus strove to set religion free from the tyranny of the written law, meticulously interpreted by the scribes. He left no written word, but instead, living men whom he had inspired by his own life and word to claim direct access to God as Father and to trust in the power and guidance of the Spirit.

It was, we have seen, the expansion of the Church that made the earliest Christian writings necessary as a substitute for the living presence of the great Apostle who could not be with all his churches at once. During the decade from 50 to 60, Paul wrote the ten letters which we can confidently ascribe to him and others of which we know from fragments or allusions, or not at all. During that same decade, Luke's diary was written and very possibly written collections of Christ's *logia* were formed, but these have been preserved only as embodied in the later Acts and Gospels.

The following decade in which Paul, James, and Peter all suffered martyrdom, may have seen the composition of I Peter, James, and Mark. Of these, Peter and James have been from early times classed as two of the seven

Catholic (general) Epistles. The former had a more widely extended circle of readers in view than any one of Paul's epistles, wider even than the circular letter known as Ephesians, and James seems to have a still more general body of readers in mind, if it was designed in the first instance as an epistle and not as a sermon.

As Paul's epistles were necessitated by his bodily absence from the churches which needed his influence, the earliest Gospel narrative was necessitated by the fact that Peter's voice could no more be heard telling the vivid, thrilling story of the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus the Christ. We have counted these three as written within the years 60 to 70, but have recognized the possibility that Mark may come from the early part of the next decade and that I Peter and James may have been written still later.

From the twenty years following the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70, little of history or even of early tradition concerning the experience of the Church either in Palestine or the Gentile world has come down to us. Yet we found these two decades of great significance as the period which gave to the world the Jewish and Hellenic Gospels of Matthew and Luke, the only first century narrative of the rise and early spread of Christianity in the Book of the Acts, and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The closing decade of the first Christian century and the opening years of the second century have told us their complex story of growing ecclesiastical organization, loss of early fervor on the part of some churches, the development of dangerous, divisive, and demoralizing heresy, and terrible conflict with Roman Imperial worship, followed by an interval of comparative peace. Out of this period came, we believe, the one apocalypse which ultimately found place in the completed New Testament, the Pastoral

Epistles, the Epistles and Gospel of John, Jude, and II Peter.

From this same period, probably from the last decade of the first century, there has been preserved a notable epistle from the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth, known as I Clement. In the early generations, this was sometimes classed with the books that finally made up our New Testament, but in the end it did not find place in the canon.

From the early years of the second century, very possibly before II Peter was written, have been preserved the letters of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom in Rome under Trajan (98-117 A.D.). In the history of Old Testament literature, we find the story of extra-canonical, Jewish writing overlapping the later years of writing the books which became canonical. To a slight degree, the history of New Testament literature shows a similar phenomenon, yet the amount of Christian literature that has been preserved outside of the canonical books from the period in which the New Testament literature was written is very small indeed. Nearly all the writings of the Church Fathers, as well as the New Testament apocrypha, are later than the latest New Testament books. To these Fathers, of the second and succeeding centuries, we must turn if we wish to trace the history of the process by which the Church gradually separated from its body of literature those books which it finally regarded as worthy to be grouped with the Hebrew Scriptures of antiquity. Our story of the growth of the New Testament scarcely seems told until we note at least a few of the broader conclusions reached from the minute study of the Christian Fathers in the effort to determine how, why, and when the twenty-seven books of our New Testament were fixed upon as forming the second great division of the Christian Bible.

With the writing of Jude and II Peter, New Testament literature was completed, but as yet there was no New Testament. The nearest approach to an idea of such a thing which we find up to that time, was the grouping together of "all" of Paul's epistles as "scripture" in II Peter. The twenty-seven books and letters whose composition we have been tracing existed as separate rolls, larger or smaller, or conceivably some of Paul's epistles may already have been copied on one roll; this was customary in the case of the Twelve Minor Prophets of the Hebrew Scriptures.

In summing up the history of the process of forming the New Testament out of the separate writings, Bishop Westcott wrote: "The recognition of the Apostolic writings as authoritative and complete was partial and progressive." "It is impossible to point to any period as marking the date at which our present canon was determined. When it first appears, it is presented not as a novelty but as an ancient tradition. Its limits were fixed in the earliest times by use rather than by criticism; and this use was based on immediate knowledge."¹ In fact, no general council of the Christian Church ever determined the books that belonged to the New Testament. As Dr. Gregory has pointed out, "At no period in the history of Christianity did the necessity make itself apparent to the whole Church to say just what was and just what was not scripture."²

The books themselves grew out of and met the needs of the churches as they spread through the Græco-Roman world, and as the living voices of the Apostolic witnesses were one by one silenced and their message had to be preserved and spread abroad by precarious tradition or by written word. So, as Henry Drummond said, "The

¹ B. F. Westcott, *The Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 500-501.

² C. R. Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, p. 286.

Bible grew out of religion." The New Testament books grew out of the religion of Jesus caught by his early followers and transmitted by them to the growing churches and to the second generation of teachers, until the increasing number of churches and the lapse of time compelled the substitution of book for voice. So the religion which arose in protest against the authoritative interpretation of certain ancient books was constrained to turn to certain books selected as of peculiar authority.³

Our critical, historical study of the composition of the New Testament books has failed to make the message of the facts clear unless the process has been seen as an evolving of literature out of life. As the life of Jesus was true and the Spirit-guidance of his followers real in meeting the pressing needs of their successive decades and generations, the message of the writings was true and inspired for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness. The process of selecting the books from the larger body of valuable Christian documents was a much longer evolution, but one no less truly of expanding life laying hold on that which met its changing needs and rejecting that which was less appropriate to the needs of life.

As we have studied the growth of the writings themselves, we have seen how one writer built upon another—Peter and Hebrews on Paul, Matthew and Luke on Mark, until we come at the last to II Peter building on Jude. So, as we pass into the non-canonical writings, we find Clement, before the close of the first century, using Romans, Corinthians, Hebrews, the Gospels, and perhaps other New Testament books. It is maintained that we can find nothing in his epistle that looks like a quotation from any Christian writing except those now included in our New Testament. We have seen that the writer of II Peter

³ See B. W. Bacon, *The Making of the New Testament*, p. 7.

thought of the Epistles of Paul as a group and gave them special honor. Going through the Christian writers of the second century, noting their quotations and echoes, it is found that, while they may use other books, there is a growing body of evidence for a preëminent recognition of most of the writings which we know as the books of the New Testament. Occasionally also there is a word which suggests that the writer is beginning to think of these books as scripture; thus the so-called Epistle of Barnabas, written at Alexandria about 130 A.D., quotes Matthew with a reference such as was ordinarily used for the Hebrew Scriptures, "as it is written," and the heretic Basilides of Alexandria refers to various New Testament books in the same way as to the books of the Old Testament.

When we have passed the middle of the second century, the Bishop of Sardes is found quoting all our New Testament books except James, Jude, and II and III John. The time of the Old Catholic Church is at hand when Christianity consolidates itself. The power of tradition by word of mouth is fading away. Papias in the first half of the century had preferred the oral word of the hearers of the Apostles to any written record; but now even any such second-hand testimony is becoming impossible and the written reports are beginning to be of greater interest.

About the year 170, we get very clear evidence that the four Gospels have come to hold a separate place in comparison with any narratives that others had taken in hand to draw up concerning the deeds and words of Jesus. Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, made a composite Gospel, known, from the fact that it was composed of sections taken from the four Gospels, as the Diatessaron (through four). About a decade later, Irenæus thought the four Gospels as inevitable as four winds of heaven.

An old manuscript containing a miscellaneous collec-

tion of Latin fragments gives, in a section that is inferred from an allusion in it to date from about the same time as Tatian's Diatessaron, a partial list of the books used in the Catholic Church.⁴ It begins with Luke as the Third Gospel and continues with Acts, John, and thirteen Pauline epistles (including the Pastorals, but not Hebrews); it then mentions that there are in circulation epistles ascribed to Paul which cannot be received into the Catholic Church; but goes on to say that the Epistle of Jude and two bearing the name of John are received, as well as two apocalypses, those of John and Peter, though some will not have the latter read in Church. With the exception of one epistle of John, James, II Peter, and Hebrews, all the books of our New Testament are acknowledged, and one other, the Apocalypse of Peter, is added, with the proviso that some will not have it read in Church. The fragmentary character of the section may explain the omission of most of the Catholic Epistles.

On the whole the evidence points to the conclusion that, while the books read in public in the Christian Church as Scripture were those of the Old Testament, in the early years, and those of our New Testament were read only as a sermon or a letter from a bishop might be read,⁵ by the middle of the second century, most of the books of the New Testament, especially the Four Gospels and Epistles of Paul, had come to be treated in much the same way as the Hebrew Scriptures. Even at the close of the century, however, there were seven books which had not yet attained such general recognition as the others, although all of these except II Peter had received some testimony.

⁴ This bit is known from the name of the man who first published it to the modern world as the *Muratorian Fragment*.

⁵ See C. R. Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, p. 213.

Soon after the year 300 A.D., Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in his Church History, reckons as writings of the New Testament the four Gospels, Acts, the Epistles of Paul, I John, I Peter, and Revelation, the last with some question. He places among disputed books James, Jude, II Peter, II and III John. By this time, the books of our New Testament have practically been selected from the larger group of early Christian writings and set beside the books of the Old Covenant as the books of the New Covenant. Yet questions are still raised as to the inclusion of six of the twenty-seven. Half a century later still, in 367 A.D., Athanasius of Alexandria, in his Easter Festal Epistle, takes occasion to enumerate the books of the Old and New Testaments and gives without any doubts or questionings the precise list that today constitutes the New Testament of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.

In the Western Church, Jerome, a generation later than Athanasius, knew that II Peter was denied by many, that Jude was rejected by a great many because it quotes the book of Enoch, and that the Church of the Greeks did not receive the Revelation of John. Although individual writers of the Greek Church have recognized Revelation, it has not since Jerome's day come to have place among the Bible lessons in the service of that great branch of the Christian Church. Jerome felt that age and custom gave deserved authority to Jude and in a way accepted II and III John, although he did not regard them as written by the Apostle John. It was the authority of Jerome and Augustine that from the beginning of the fifth century fixed the limits of the New Testament for Western Christendom, so far as any doubts had remained up to their time.

Luther and Calvin did not, however, hesitate to distinguish, as Augustine himself had done, between the books

with reference to their relative worth. Luther declared that five books—John, Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and I Peter, were enough for any Christian. He did not attempt to exclude any from the accepted list, but placed Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation in a lower class than the others. Calvin discussed the disputed books freely and showed that he did not greatly care for James, Jude, or II Peter. In his commentary he did not include II and III John and Revelation, and called I John “the Epistle of John.”⁶

The Reformation movement led the Roman Church, in the Council of Trent, to give official sanction to the Latin Bible then in use among its leaders as the authentic text, thus formally canonizing the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha, and the entire New Testament. Since that time different assemblies of Protestants have declared the entire New Testament undoubted Scripture. But, since such declarations began to be made in modern times, there has been no one council or body entitled to speak for the Western Church as a whole, and much less for the entire Church with its Eastern branches, including the Greek, Coptic, and other divisions.

Modern criticism has not hesitated to examine every ancient tradition as to Apostolic or other authorship of the various books, confirming or denying as the evidence compels. In doing so, it has, like Luther and Calvin, been led to attach greater or lesser value to the different books. Most scholarly interpreters today, who believe in applying the principles of literary and historical criticism to the New Testament, would probably agree that the books which were disputed in Eusebius's time have in general less value for the religious life of today than the other twenty-one. Yet our historical view of the books as reflecting the rich and

⁶ See C. R. Gregory, *Canon and Text of New Testament*, pp. 288-9.

varied interpretations of the meaning of Jesus and his religion to men of different races, training, and temperament, in the changing experiences of the successive decades of their writing, and as selected from the larger body of Christian writings by the gradual consensus of the Church East and West, leaves us little concerned as to the precise limits of the Canon. Apprehending various aspects of the meaning of Jesus from differing points of view, the writers are able to minister to the needs of one group or another of us in varying measure. He who has come to appreciate the variety of thought and experience manifested in these writings of the first century of the Church's history and in the long centuries of experience that went into their gradual selection and final recognition, will have basis for a truly catholic Christian attitude toward his fellow believers of whatever name.

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